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ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

By

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Preface

The present volume deals with the five tribes, the Kāśīs, the Kośalas, the Assakas, the Magadhas, the Bhojas who played an important part in the history of Ancient India. I have collected materials from the original works, Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit. Some scholars have dealt with the history of these tribes but my treatment is quite different. I have succeeded in bringing together many new materials from Pāli books. I have not failed to utilize the legends connected with these tribes as they cannot be entirely ignored. I have refrained from building up doubtful theories and hypotheses and have presented only the solid facts.

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September, 1926.

Bimala Churn Law

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Ancient Indian Tribes

CHAPTER I

THE KĀŚĪS

Kāśī–its location and extent.

Kāśī, one of the Mahājanapadas[1] of Jambudīpa, was the ancient name of the kingdom of which the chief city was Bārānasī, the modern Benares, which derives its name from the river Baraṇāvatī and is situated at a distance of eighty miles below Allahabad on the north bank of the Ganges, at the junction between it and the river Baraṇā.[2] The Baraṇā or Varaṇā is a considerable rivulet which rises to the north of Allahabad and has a course of about 100 miles. The Asi is a mere brook. From the joint name of these two streams which bound the city to the north and the south, the Brāhmaṇas derive Varānasī or Vārāṇasī which is said to be the Sanskrit form of the name of Banāras.[3] Bārānasi had other names also. It was called Surundhana[4] in the Udaya birth, Sudassana[5] in Chullasutasoma birth, Brahmavaddhana[6] in the Sonananda birth, Pupphavatī[7] in the Khandahāla

1. Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. I., p. 213; vol. IV., pp. 252, 256, 260.

2. Buddhist India, p. 34.

3. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 435—436.

4. Jātaka, IV., p. 104.

5. Ibid., IV., p. 119; *V.*, 177.

6. Ibid., IV., p. 119; *V.* 312.

7. Ibid., VI., p. 131.

birth, Ramma city[1] in the Yuvañjaya birth and Molini[2] in the Saṅkha birth. In the Chinese version of Buddhist works, the terms Kāśī and Vārānasī are generally given in transcriptions. But the former term is sometimes translated by Ti-miao. This means reed-sprouts. Ti-miao may have been used to translate Kāśī as supposed to be connected with Kāśa.[3]

The city proper, as Rhys Davids says, included the land between the Baraṇā and a stream called the Asi, as its name suggests. Its extent including the suburbs, is often stated to have been, at the time when it was the capital of an independent kingdom (*i. e.* sometimes before the rise of Buddhism) 12 leagues or about 85 miles.[4] In the Jātakas, we find the extent of the city mentioned as 12 yojanas[5]. Benares extends four miles along the bank of the river, which here descends to the water with a steep brink. Down this brink are built flights of steps known as ghats, at the foot of which pilgrims bathe and dead bodies are burnt.[6]

The little kingdom of Kāśī was bordered by Kośala on the north, Magadha on the east and Vatsa on the west.[7] It had abundance of seven gems, wealth and prosperity.[8] The Buddha predicted that when the lease of life of human

1. Jātaka IV. pp. 119, 26. etc.
2. Ibid., IV., p. 15.
3. Watters on Yuan Chwang, vol. II., pp. 58-59.
4. Buddhist India, p. 34.
5. Jātaka, vol. VI., p. 160.
6. Cambridge History of India, Ancient India, vol. I., p. 14.
7. Ibid., p. 316.
8. Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. I., p. 213; vol. IV. pp. 252, 256, 260.

beings would be 80, 000 years, Bārānasī would be known as Ketumatī which would be the capital of Jambudīpa and the king would be Saṅkha who would be the universal monarch possessing seven gems.[1]

Kāśī in the Vedic and Sūtra literature.

The Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra mentions Kāśya, the king of Kāśī, and Jala, son of Jātukarṇi, who became the king's chaplain after having performed the religious sacrifice for ten nights. (XVI. 29. 5). Kāśya was a warrior belonging to the family of warriors as the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad informs us. (III. 8. 2). The Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Kausitaki Upaniṣad speak of Ajātaśatru, another king of Kāśī and Bālāki, son of Balākā told him that he would speak of Brahmā to him. (II., I. I.; IV. I.). The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra tells us that Āyu, son of Purūravā, renounced the worldly life and he wandered in the countries of Kāśī, Kuru and Pañcāla. (XVIII., 44). From the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we learn that Satānīka, son of Satrājita, performed the Govinata Yajña taking the horse of the king of Kāśī, Kāśya. Afterwards the king of Kāśī performed the yajña. (XIII. 5. 4. 19). It further informs us that Satānīka accepted the horse of the kings of Kāśī which was meant for religious sacrifice. (XIII. 5. 4. 21). The river Varaṇāvatī is referred to in the Atharvaveda (IV. 7. 1), the water of which removes poison. We agree with Drs. Macdonell and Keith that though Kāśī is a late word, it is quite possible that the town is older as the river Varaṇāvatī may be connected with the later Bārānasī (Benares).[2]

1. Dīgha Nikāya, vol. III., p. 75.
2. Vedic Index, vol. I., p. 154.

Kāśī in the Epic period—In the Rāmāyaṇa.

Kāśī was a famous kingdom in the age of the Rāmāyaṇa. This is apparent from several passages. Thus we are told in the Ādikāṇḍa (13th svarga) that Vaśiṣṭha asked Sumantra to invite many pious kings including the king of Benares together with one thousand Brāhmiṇs, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras. In the Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa (40th svarga) we read that Sugrīva while sending the monkey king Vinata in search of Sītā requested him to go to Kāśī and some other countries in quest of her. In the Uttarakāṇḍa (56th Ch., sl. 25) we read that Mitradeva said to Urvaśī, "Go to Purūravā, king of Kāśī. He will be your husband." In the same kāṇḍa (Ch. 59, 19) Puru, son of Yayāti, is represented as residing in Pratiṣṭhāna and ruling over the kingdom of Kāśī.

In the Mahābhārata.

Kāśī figures even more prominently in the other epic of ancient India. Haryaśva, grandfather of Divodāsa, was the king of Benares. He was killed by the relations of King Vītahavya in a battle fought on the land between the Ganges and the Jumna. His son Sudeva was installed on the throne of Kāśī. Sudeva ruled Kāśī righteously, but he also was defeated by the Vītahavyas. Then his son Divodāsa was anointed King of Benares. He built the city of Benares which became populated by Brāhmiṇs, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The city was on the north bank of the Ganges and on the south bank of the river, Gomatī. Big markets were opened. The Haihayas again attacked him. A great war ensued. It lasted for one thousand days. Divodāsa was defeated, fled to a forest and took shelter in the hermitage of the sage, Bharadvāja, eldest son of Vṛhaspati. He narrated the whole event to the sage. The sage

assured the king that he would perform a sacrifice so that the king might be blessed with a son who would kill thousands of the Vītahavyas. The sage performed a sacrifice, as a merit of which a son was born. This son was named Pratardana. He learnt Vedas and archery. He was anointed prince and was sent by his father, Divodāsa to conquer the Vītahavyas. Pratardana crossed the Ganges and reached the land of the Vītahavya in a chariot. A fierce fight was fought with the result that the Vītahavyas were defeated. King Vītahavya found all his men killed and fled to the hermitage of the sage, Bhṛgu. Pratardana also went there and requested Bhṛgu to let the King Vītahavya go. Bhṛgu said, "There is no Kṣatriya in my hermitage; all are brāhmiṇs here." Pratardana said, "I am satisfied. My prowess has caused Vītahavya to leave his caste. Bhṛgu's words raised Vītahavya to the state of a Brahmarṣi"[1]. Another passage of the Mahābhārata tells us that Divodāsa, the son of Bimbisāra, king of Kāśī, had a son named Pratardana by Mādhavī, daughter of Yayātī,[2] who regained heaven in consequence of the meritorious deeds done by Pratardana (Udyogaparva, Ch. 123, pp. 746-749). When the Prince Pratardana became the king of Kāśī, he founded his capital in Benares and acquired great fame by offering his own son in charity to a brāhmiṇ[3]. A king of Kāśī, we are told, gave his daughter, Sārvasenī in marriage with Bharat, son of Duṣmanta, king of the Kuru dynasty, and Śakuntalā, daughter of Viśvāmitra [4]. Another king of

---

1. Anuśāsanaparva, Ch. 30, pp. 1899-1900.
2. Udyogaparva, Ch. 117, p. 746
3. Anuśāsanaparva, Ch. 137, pp. 1995-1996.
4. Ādiparva, Ch. 95, p.105.

Kāśī had three daughters, Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālikā who were won by Bhīṣma for his brother Vicitravīrya in a Svayambara (Udyogaparva, Chs. 172–194, pp. 791–806). Suvāhu, king of Kāśī, was conquered by Bhīṣma before the Rājasūya sacrifice. (Sabhāparva, Ch. 30, pp. 241--242).

On the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Abhimanyu, the king of Kāśī and others were invited by Yudhiṣṭhira to a city named Upaplavya near Virāṭa.[1] The king of Kāśī was an ally of Yudhiṣṭhira and helped the Pāṇḍavas in the Kurukṣetra war[2]. Kāśī, Karūṣa and Cedi armies were under the leadership of Dhṛṣṭaketu in the battle of Kurukṣetra[3]. The king of Kāśī was the best archer. He blew his conch along with Śikhaṇḍi, Dhṛṣṭadyumna and others. (Bhīṣmaparva. Ch. 25, p. 834). Śaivya and the king of Kāśī guarded the centre of the Pāṇḍava army with his thirty thousand chariots. (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 50, p. 924). Śaivya and the king of Kāśī had blue horses. (Droṇaparva, Ch. 22, pp. 1012–1013). Alibhū, king of Kāśī, was killed by the son of Vasudāna. (Karṇaparva Ch. 6, p. 1169). The king of Kāśī rode horses decorated with gold and garlands in the Kurukṣetra war. (Droṇaparva, Ch. 22, śl. 38).

Samvartta driven by his brother Vṛhaspati became an ascetic and lived in Benares. At the request of King Marutta, he consented to be the sacrificer and asked the king to make sacrificial pot of gold available on the mountain called Muñjavāna on the top of the Himālayās. The King did so and had the sacrifice performed by Samvartta. Later on the articles used in this sacrifice were utilised in a sacrifice

1. Virāṭaparva, Chap. 72, śl. 16., p. 627.
2. Udyogaparva, Chap. 72, p. 714.
3. Ibid., Chap. 198, p.8 07.

performed by Yudhiṣṭhira. (Aśvamedhaparva, Chs. 4–10, pp. 2029–2034).

In the Anuśāsanaparva (Ch. 120, pp. 1985–1987) we read that there lived in Benares a sage named Maitreya who used to hold, "Brahmanhood is the best treasure of a brahmin. The four principal castes of the Hindus are very beneficial. Charity is very good."

In the Śāntiparva we read that there was in Benares a merchant named Tulādhāra who was very pious and conversant with mysteries of religion. He was very open-hearted. He was a dealer in oilmanstores and fragrant substances such as musk, lac, dye, etc. (Ch. 263, pp. 1668–1675).

Kāśī in the Purāṇas.

Kāśī is mentioned in the Purāṇas (Padmapurāṇa, Svargakhaṇḍa, Ch. 3; Viṣṇudharmottara-mahāpurāṇa, Ch. 9) as a janapada. The Purāṇas contain several stories about kings of Kāśī, some of whom are, as we have seen, already mentioned in the epics. The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions a king named Kāśa who was the son of Dharmavṛddha of the Nahuṣa family. The sons of Kāśa are Kāśara, Rāṣtra and Dīrghatapā. The son of Dīrghatapā was the learned Dharma. (Vāyupurāṇa, Ch. 92). According to the Harivaṁśa, sons of Kāśa, king of the Anenāḥ dynasty, were known as Kāśīs. Dīrghatamā was the eldest. (Harivaṁśa, Ch. 29). As a merit of the performance of penance by Saunihotra, king of Kāśī, a son was born to him. He was named Dhanvantari. He studied Āyurveda with Bharadvāja who taught his pupils Āyurveda after dividing it into eight sections. (Harivaṁśa, Ch. 31). Dhanvantari became king of Benares. He was celebrated as the author of Āyurveda and killer of all diseases. (Vāyupurāṇa, Ch. 92). A genealogical table of the family of Dhanvantari is given below:—

Dhanvantari
|
Ketumāna
|
Bhīmaratha famous as Divodāsa who reigned in Benares, killed 100 sons of King Bhadraśreṇya and took over his (Bhadraśreṇya's) kingdom.
|
Pratardana
|
Vatsa — Gārga
|
Alarka
Saunati (who ruled the kingdom of Kāśī after killing the rākṣasa Kṣemaka).
|
Suketu
|
Dharmaketu
|
Satyaketu
|
Vibhu
|
Suvibhu
|
Sukumāra
|
Dhṛṣṭaketu
|
Venuhotra
|
Gārgya
|
Garbhabhumi
|
Vatsa
|
Vātsya (Vāyupurāṇa, Ch. 92)

Divodāsa, great grandson of Dhanvantari was, as we have seen, a famous king of Benares. At that time Benares being cursed by Mahātmā Nikumbha was deserted and was

resided by a rākṣasa named Khemaka. Divodāsa left Benares and founded his kingdom on the banks of the river Gomatī. (Harivaṁśa, Chs. 31-32; cf. Brahmapurāṇa, Ch. 13, Śl. 75.). Once Bhadraśreṇya, son of Mahiṣmāna (Padmapurāṇa, Sristi, Ch. 12) and king of the Yadu dynasty, acquired Benares. His sons were defeated by King Divodāsa who recovered Benares and who out of mercy spared the life of Bhadraśrenya's youngest son, Durddama. But Durddama in course of time recovered his paternal kingdom which was again won by Pratarddana, son of Divodāsa.

The following genealogy is found in the Harivaṁśa :—

Dusmanta
|
Bharata
|
Vitatha
|
Suhotra
|
Kāśika
|
Dīrghatapā
|
Dhanvantari
|
Ketumāna
|
Bhīmaratha
|
Divodāsa
|
Pratardana

(Brahmapurāṇa, Ch. 13).

Pratardana
|
Vatsa
|
Mannati — Vatsa
|
Sunitha
|
Khemya
|
Ketumān
|
Suketu
|
Dharmaketu
|
Satyaketu
|
Vibhu
|
Anartta
|
Sukumār
|
Dhrṣṭaketu
|
Venuhotra
|
Bharga (Harivaṁśa, Chs. 31-32)

Ālarka, king of Kāśī, in his later life, after killing the Rākṣasa Khemaka re-established the beautiful city of Benares.

Benares, the capital of Kāśī, figures in the story of Krishna's quarrel with Puṇḍva. King Puṇḍva declared himself as Vāsudeva and fought with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva with the help of the king of Benares but he was defeated and killed by Kṛṣṇa. At this time Kṛṣṇa burnt the city of Benares. (Viṣṇupurāṇa, 5th Amśa, 34th Ch.).

The following pieces of information may also be gleaned from the Purāṇas.

Kusadhaja, brother of Sīradhvaja was the king of Benares. (Vāyupurāṇa, Ch. 89).

Sages of Benares with their disciples attended Rāma's sacrifice performed in Kurukṣetra. (Skandapurāṇa, Ayodhyāmāhātmya Ch. I).

The great sage Vedavyāsa knowing tho good fame of Benares dwelt here. As he dwelt there, many paṇḍits too took up their residence. (Kurmapurāṇa, Ch. 34, Ślokas 32-33).

Satyakarma, a descendant of Parīkṣita ruled in Benares. (Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Ch. I).

Jain sources.

According to the Jainas, Pārśvanātha was born in Benares about 817 B. C. His father Aśvasena was the king of Benares. (Heart of Jainism, p. 48). On the 84th day Pārśvanātha obtained Kevala Jñāna seated under a certain tree near Benares. (Ibid, p. 49).

Kāśī also figures in the stories of the last Tīrthaṅkara and his disciples.

There lived in Benares a householder named Chulaṇipiyā who was prosperous and who had no equal. His wife was called Sāmā. He possessed a treasure of eight kror measure of gold and eight herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand herd of cattle. He was the cause of prosperity to whatever business he was concerned with. At a certain time Mahāvīra came and a congregation went out from Benares to hear him. Chulaṇipiyā lived in conformity with the teachings of the law which he received from Mahāvīra. Afterwards he through lofty ascetic practices was reborn as a deva in the Aruṇappabha abode.[1]

1. Uvāsagadasāo, vol. II, pp. 90-98.

There lived at Benares a prosperous householder named Sūrādeva. He possessed a treasure of six kṛor measures of gold and six herds. Sūrādeva took upon himself the law of householder and he lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received from Mahāvīra.[1]

In the night in which Mahāvīra died, the king of Kāśī instituted an illumination on the Poshada which was a fasting day for he said, "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter.[2]

Vajraswāmi, a great Jaina spiritual leader, had a famous disciple named Āryarakṣita who had originally been a Brāhmin and had studied all knowledge at Benares.[3]

The king of Kāśī named Nandana, the 7th Baladeva, son of King Agnisikha of Benares exerting himself for the best truth abandoned all pleasures and hewed down, as it were, his karma like a forest.[4]

A famous brahmin named Jayaghosa who subdued all his senses, and who walked on the right road came to the town of Benares. He took up his residence outside Benares. At the same time another brahmin named Vijayaghosa offered a sacrifice in Benares. Jayaghosa attended the sacrifice of Vijayaghosa to beg alms but he was refused. Thus refused he was neither angry nor pleased as he always strove for the highest good. Jayaghosa said to Vijayaghosa thus, "You do not know what is most essential in the Vedas nor in sacrifices nor in duties. You do not know those who are able to save themselves and others but if you do, then speak

1. Uvāsagadasāo, p. 100.
2. Jaina Sūtras, vol. I, p. 266.
3. Heart of Jainism, p. 78.
4. Sūtrakritānga, Jaina Sūtras, II, p. 87.

out." Vijayaghosa could not defend himself by a suitable reply.[1]

A Jaina monk named Bala stayed in a certain grove near Benares. The presiding deity of this grove became his follower. One day Bhadrā, daughter of King Kauśalika, came to that grove, seeing the dirty monk, she could not conceal her aversion. The presiding deity of the grove to punish her for her want of respect for the Jaina monk possessed her. As no physician could cure her madness the presiding deity said that she would recover only if she were offered as bride to Bala. The king agreed. Bhadrā became sound and went to choose Bala as her husband. Bala refused to marry her. (Jaina Sūtras, II, p. 50).

Incidental notices of Kāśī kings and notables in literature of the Buddhist age.

A king of Benares, we are told, used to learn Vedic hymns from his purohita. (Jātaka, III, p. 28). There is a reference in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya to the poisoning of the Kāśīrājā by his own queen. (Arthaśāstra, Tr. p. 46). Brahmadatta, a king of Benares, told the inhabitants of Kāśī that those who had provision for 12 years, might remain at Benares and those who had not, might leave Benares as there would be famine lasting for twelve years. (Divyāvadāna, p. 132).

On account of famine many people died at Benares but one person who had enormous wealth in his possession gave alms to a pratyekabuddha who went to him. The wife of the person prayed to the pratyekabuddha for the boon that one pot of rice cooked by her would be sufficient for hundreds of thousands of people. The person prayed for the boon that his granary should always be filled up with paddy. The

1. Jaina Sūtras, II, pp. 136–137.

person's son prayed that his treasure should always be full of wealth although he might spend as much as he liked. All the boons prayed for were granted by the pratyekabuddha. (Divyāvadāna, pp. 132 foll).

A king of Benares had a gardener who could make sweet mangoes bitter and bitter mangoes sweet. (Jātaka, V., p. 3).

A son of the king of Benares promised to worship a deity presiding in a nigrodha tree with the blood of 1000 kings and queens of the Jambudīpa if he got the throne after his father's death. His desire was fulfilled and according to promise he brought 1000 kings and queens before the deity who helped them to save their lives. (Dhammapada Commentary, II, p. 14 foll).

Sivali in a previous birth was a son of the king of Benares. After his father's death, he ascended the throne and he surrounded a city in order to conquer it but the inhabitants did not surrender for many days. Afterwards they were forced to surrender. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. II, pp. 199–200).

Udena was dwelling at Khemiyambavana at Benares. A brahmin named Ghoṭamukha went to him and told him that it seemed to him that there was no pious monk. Udena replied to his question by referring to four kinds of persons. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 157 foll).

A son of a banker of Benares who used to amuse himself by tumbling, brought upon himself an entanglement of his intestines and therefore he could not digest rice, milk or the food which he partook. In consequence he was becoming lean, thin and disfigured. The banker of Benares went to Rājagaha to see king Bimbisāra of Magadha. He approached the king and requested him to order his physician

Jīvaka to cure his son. The banker's request was complied with by the king. Jīvaka went to Benares and cured the banker's son of the disease. Jīvaka was amply rewarded by the banker and went back to Rājagaha. (Vinaya Texts, pt. II, pp. 184–185).

Koliya-descendants of Kāśī.

Rāma, king of Benares, had an attack of leprosy. Members of the harem and the dancing girls used to hate him. Hence he became very sorry and left the kingdom by placing it in charge of his eldest son. He went to a forest and lived on fruits there. He was soon cured of the disease by taking leaves and fruits of wild trees. His body appeared like gold. He dwelt in a tree hole and later on he married a daughter of King Okkāka and thirty-two sons were born to him. These sons afterwards built the city named Kola, and they became known as Koliyas. There were intermarriages between the Koliyas and the Śākyas down to the time of the Buddha Gautama. (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Part I, pp. 260–262; Vide also 'Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India,' pp. 204–205).

Kāśī and Kośala are represented as two independent countries and their kings fighting with each other. (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 55).

Fight between Kāśī and Kośala.

The king of Benares attacked the kingdom of Kośala and took the king prisoner. There he set up royal officials as governors and himself having collected all their available treasure, returned with his spoil to Benares. The king of Kośala had a son named Chatta who fled while his father was taken prisoner. Chatta came to Taxila where he acquired the three Vedas and the eighteen liberal arts. Then he left Taxila and came to a wood where dwelt five

hundred ascetics from whom he learnt all what the ascetics could instruct him; gradually he became the leader of the band. He came to Benares with five hundred ascetics and spent the night in the king's garden. The next morning the ascetics wandering about the city for alms, came to the door of the palace. The king was charmed with their deportment and asked them to sit on the dais and put to them various questions. Chatta answered all the questions and won the king's heart. The king asked the ascetics to stay in the garden. Chatta knew a spell whereby he could bring to light buried treasure. While in the garden he thought "Where can this fellow have put the money which belonged to my father? He repeated the spell and looking about he discovered that it was buried in the garden. With a view to recover his kingdom with this buried treasure he told the ascetics that he was the son of the king of Kośala and that he had to escape in disguise and saved his life; he informed them that he had got the property of his family and enquired what the ascetics would do. The ascetics all agreed to go with him. Chatta made some big leather sacks and at night dug a hole in the ground and pulled out treasure pots. He filled the sacks with the money and the pots with grass. Then he ordered the ascetics to take the money and to flee to Sāvatthī. There Chatta had all the king's officers seized and recovering his kingdom he restored the walls, watch towers, etc. He made the city invincible against alien invasion and took up his residence there. (Jātaka, III, p. 115 foll).

Brahmadatta was a wealthy king of Benares. He was rich in treasures, in revenues and in troops and vehicles. At that time there was a king of Kośala named Dighiti who was not so wealthy as the king of Kāśī. Brahmadatta went to wage war against the king of Kośala, defeated him and

took possession of the treasuries and store houses of the king of Kośala. The kings of Kośala with his consort went to Benares and dwelt there in disguise in a potter's house. The queen became pregnant and desired to see an army with its four hosts set in array clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground and to drink water in which swords were washed. The desire of the queen consort of the king of Kośala was fulfilled. The king of Kāśī was later on informed by his barber that the king of Kośala with his wife was dwelling in the kingdom of Benares. It is to be noted that the king of Kośala with his wife and child named Dīghāvu was brought before the king of Kāśī. The young boy Dīghāvu became a servant of the king of Kāśī. One day the king of Kāśī ascended a chariot. Dīghāvu drove the chariot. When the chariot was driven with a very high speed, it came far off from the royal retinue. At this time, the king of Kāśī became tired, stopped the chariot and put his head on the lap of Dīghāvu and fell asleep. Dīghāvu thought of killing the king but remembering his father's advice he spared the life of the king. The king woke up suddenly and was terrified. Dīghāvu said, "You robbed us of our troops and vehicles, realm, treasuries and storehouses. You killed my father and mother. Now I shall kill you." The king fell down at the feet of Dīghāvu and entreated him to spare his life. Dīghāvu granted him his life. Then they swore not to do any harm to each other. (Vinaya Texts, pt. II, p. 301 foll).

At different periods Kāśī came under the sway of the three successive suzerain powers of Northern India—the Purus of Vatsa, the Iksvākus of Kośala and the kings of Magadha; but it seems to have enjoyed its independent power between the decline of Vatsa and the rise of Kośala,

when King Brahmadatta, possibly about a century and a half before the Buddha's time, conquered Kośala. (Cambridge History of India, p. 316).

From the Mahāsīlava Jātaka, it is evident that the kingdom of Benares was once seized by the king of Kośala who buried alive, up to the neck, the king of Kāśī with his soldiers and began to lord over Benares. The king of Kāśī with great difficulty came out of the pit, rescued his soldiers and by the magic power of the yakkhas who happened to be there disputing over a corpse he secured everything necessary for a king and with the help of the yakkhas at the dead of night when all doors were barred he came to the usurper's bedside and frightened him. The usurper saw by the lamp-light the king Goodness there, was astonished, and asked the king how he could come there. On being told the story of his escape, the usurper praised the king for his signal virtue, begged pardon of him and on the morrow gave back his kingdom before all, and himself with his troops and elephants went back to his own kingdom. (Jātaka, I, p. 262 foll).

In the Asātarūpa Jātaka, we read that the kingdom of Benares was once seized by the king of Kośala who marched with a great force against Benares, killed the king and carried off his queen to make her his own wife. When the king was killed his son escaped; after a short time the prince collected a mighty force and came to Benares, pitched his camp close by and sent a message to the king either to surrender the kingdom or to give battle. The Kośalan king informed him that he would give battle. But the mother of the young prince sent words to her son advising him not to fight but to blockade the city on every side so that citizens would be worn out for want of food and water. The young prince acted up to the advice of his mother. The citizens

were famished and on the seventh day, they beheaded their king and brought the head of the king to the prince. The prince entered the city and made himself the king. Thus he succeeded in regaining his paternal kingdom. (Jātaka, I, p. 409).

The kingdom of Benares was seized by a king of Sāvatthī named Vaṅka. But it was soon restored to the king of Benares. (Jātaka, III, pp. 168–169).

Contest between Magadha and Kośala for the possession of Kāśī.

During the lifetime of the Buddha, Kāśī was incorporated into the Kośala dominions. In the Mahāsīlava Jātaka and Asātarūpa Jātaka. (Jātaka, I, 262 foll and 409 foll). We find that Ajātaśatru had a battle with Pasenadi at Kāśī but Pasenadi was defeated. Again there was a battle between the two in which Ajātaśatru was defeated by Pasenadi who sent him free after capturing his army. Pasenadi also took possession of Kāśī which was given to his sister by his father. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 82–85).

In the Dīgha Nikāya, we read that Pasenadi, king of Kāśī-Kośala used to collect taxes from the inhabitants of Kāśī-Kośala. He used to enjoy the income not alone, but with his subordinates. (I, pp. 228–229).

Kāśī as a Buddhist centre.

Once Kassapa Buddha was dwelling at Benares at Isipatana Migadāva. Kiki, king of Benares went to see him. The Buddha preached religious instruction to him. The king became very much pleased and invited Kassapa with the assembly of bhikkhus at his house. Kassapa with the bhikkhus was fed sumptuously and after meal Kiki requested him to spend the lent there but Kassapa refused. Kiki asked

Kassapa whether he had any disciple who showed greater respect for him. Kassapa replied that there was one named Ghaṭikāra who used to show greater respect for him. Kassapa then related the qualities of Ghaṭikāra which made him the foremost of his lay disciples. (Majjhima Nikāya, II, pp. 49 foll).

On another occasion Kassapa Buddha came to Benares with 1000 arahats. The inhabitants of Benares were offering alms to the guests except four sons of bankers who committed adultery throughout their life. In consequence of this sinful deed, they were tormented in the Kumbhipāka hell. (Dhammapada Commentary, II, p. 9 foll).

At the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa there lived at Benares a married couple. The couple accepted the discipleship of Kāśyapa immediately before his death. (Divyāvadāna, p. 22).

Bhaddā Kapilāni became the chief queen of the king of Benares on account of her approving the offering of cloth to the Buddha in a previous birth. She was afterwards given the first place amongst those remembering previous births. (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 71-72).

Buddha knew that he would give his first discourse on the Dhammacakka to the first disciples living at Benares who attended him during his penance and who afterwards became famous as the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus. Buddha went to Benares and met them there. They first decided not to welcome him but when he came near them, they did receive him cordially and gave him seat and water for ablution. At first they called the Buddha by his name āvuso (friend). They were advised not to address him thus. The Buddha said that he had attained Nirvāṇam (Amataṁ) and that he would teach them. He told them that their object

would be fulfilled by following his instruction. He preached before them the sermon known as the Dhammacakkappavattana. The sermon had the effect on Kondañña, the chief of the group of five. He became an arahat immediately and the remaining four became arahats very soon. (Majjhima Nikāya, I, pp. 170 foll. cf. Samyutta Nikāya, V., pp. 420 foll; Kathāvatthu, pp. 97 and 559).

It is stated in another Buddhist text that the hero went to Benares in order to establish the kingdom of truth. When he established the kingdom of truth and preached the most excellent truth, the conversion of 18 koṭis of beings took place. Kondañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma and Assaji, the five great theras attained emancipation when he preached the Anattalakkhaṇa discourse. Residing in Bārāṇasī in Isipatana the Jīna released the four friends of Yasa and besides, the fifty youths. Having spent the rainy season in Bārānasī, the Tathāgatha released the Bhaddavaggiyas in the Kappāsika grove. (Dīpavaṁsa, pp. 119-120; Vinaya Texts, pt. I, pp. 90, 91, 97).

The Buddha met an Ājivika named Upaka on his way to Benares to preach the Wheel of Law at Isipatana Migadāva. (Therīgāthā Commentary, p. 220). He reached Benares after crossing the Ganges at Payāga direct from Verañjā as the bhikkhus were troubled much on account of famine at Verañjā. (Samantapāsādikā [P. T. S.], Vol. I, p. 201). A nāga king named Erakoputto was taught by the Buddha at the foot of the Sattasirisaka tree at Benares that it is very difficult to be born as a human being. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, p. 230).

The Buddha was staying at Isipatana Migadāva in Benares. Here he delivered a sermon on the evil propensities of mind. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, p. 110 foll). One day

he went out for alms and saw a bhikkhu on begging tour being unmindful and with unrestrained senses. He advised the bhikkhu not to go round for alms being unmindful and with unrestrained senses. The bhikkhu accepted his advice and informed other bhikkhus of it. In the same afternoon the Blessed One repeated the same advice to other bhikkhus. All the unrestrained bhikkhus became restrained in their senses by the advice of the Budhha. (Ibid., pp. 279–280).

Many bhikkhus were dwelling at Isipatana Migadāva at Benares. One day after returning from taking alms, they assembled at Maṇḍalamāla in the afternoon and discussed the proper time of seeing senior and wise bhikkhus. Many bhikkhus suggested many timings but Mahākaccāyana proclaimed that what he heard from the Blessed One was that when a bhikkhu's mind was full of sensual thought, hatred, sloth, torpor and doubt, then it was better for such a bhikkhu to visit senior and wise bhikkhus. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. III, pp. 320–322).

Once while the Buddha was staying at Isipatana Migadāva at Benares, many bhikkhus discussed the questions of Abhidhamma after returning from taking alms. Citta, son of Hatthisāri used to disturb the bhikkhus often. Mahākoṭṭhita asked him not to disturb them and to wait till they finished discussing Abhidhammakathā. The bhikkhus who accompanied Citta asked Mahākoṭṭhita not to prevent Citta from disturbing the bhikkhus as he was able to speak on the Abhidhamma to the bhikkhus. Mahākoṭṭhita replied that it was not proper for those who could not know the thought of others by their own mind to say so. Mahākoṭṭhita delivered a sermon on the subject of knowing the thoughts of others by one's own mind. This sermon produced such a remarkable effect on Citta as he afterwards became a bhikkhu. Finally he became an arahat. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, pp. 392 foll).

During the Buddha's stay at Isipatana Migadāva, there was a talk amongst the bhikkhus in a certain afternoon on what is first anta, what is second? What is middle? and what is sibbanī (needle)? The bhikkhus gave their respective opinions on the subject and afterwards all in a body went to the Blessed One to ask his opinion. The Buddha listened to their respective opinions and then said that everyone was right in his opinion for some reasons. He said, "phassa (contact) is the first end, phassasamudaya (origination of contact) is the second and cessation of contact is the middle, and desire is the needle. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, pp. 399 foll).

Once again when the Buddha was dwelling at Isipatana Migadāva at Benares, he delivered the Saccavibhaṅgasuttam to the bhikkhus. This sutta is the elaboration of four noble truths. (Ibid., III, p. 248 foll).

On another occasion he addressed the bhikkhus that he was free from snares of all kinds, and the bhikkhus also were freed. He ordered them to go on preaching the Dhamma which is good at the beginning, the middle and the end, full of meaning, pure and leading to holy life. Shortly afterwards Māra appeared before the Blessed One and told him that he was not freed from snares, human and celestial and therefore he was not free from the snare of Māra too. The Buddha replied that he was free from all bonds and that he killed Māra. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, I, pp. 105–106).

It was also at Isipatana Migadāva at Benares that the Buddha delivered a sermon to the pañcavaggiya bhikkhus on the subject of five khandhas, which are impermanent and full of sufferings. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, pt. II, pp. 66–68).

In Benares a noble youth named Yasa, son of a seṭṭhi, had three palaces fixed for the three seasons of the year. One day in the palace for the rainy season, attended by female musicians, he fell asleep. He awoke and saw his attendants sleeping, one having her lute leaning against her armpit; one having her drum leaning against her armpit, one having dishevelled hair, one having saliva coming out of her mouth; and they were all muttering in their sleep. When he saw this, the evils of worldly life manifested themselves to him and he made up his mind to renounce the world. He went to the Isipatana Migadāva and the Blessed One saw him from a distance. Yasa told him that there was danger and distress in worldly life. The Buddha taught him the dhamma and he was afterwards converted to the Buddhist faith. (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, pp. 102–108).

When four lay friends of Yasa heard that he had renounced worldly life and had accepted the Buddha's dhamma; they went to him and Yasa took them to the Buddha who taught them his dhamma, and they were afterwards converted to the Buddhist faith. (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, pp. 110–112).

Sāriputta and Mahākoṭṭhita were dwelling at the Isipatana Migadāva at Benares. One afternoon Mahākoṭṭhita rising from trance went to Sāriputta and asked him about old age and death whether they were self created or created by others or created by both or they came into being without any cause. Mahākoṭṭhita also asked Sāriputta questions about existence, jāti (birth), nāmarūpa (name and form) and viññāna (consciousness). (Saṁyutta Nikāya, pt. II, pp. 112–114).

Many theras were dwelling at the Isipatana Migadāva at Benares. Channa went to them and requested them to



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instruct him in such a way as he might realise the dhamma. The theras delivered the same sermon. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, III, pp. 132–135).

Sāriputta and Mahākoṭṭhita were dwelling at the Isipatana Migadāva at Benares. One afternoon Mahākoṭṭhita went to Sāriputta and asked him about the dhammas to be meditated upon by a pious bhikkhu. Sāriputta in reply spoke of the five khandhas. (Ibid., pp. 167–169).

On another occasion when Mahākoṭṭhita and Sāriputta were dwelling at the Isipatana Migadāva at Benares, Mahākoṭṭhita asked Sāriputta about vijjā and how one should master it. Sāriputta replied that one can master vijjā by knowing that the five khandhas are subject to origination and decay. Mahākoṭṭhita and Sāriputta also had a discussion on avijjā, (Ibid., pp. 173–177), and on the subject of existence and non-existence of a being after death. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, IV, pp. 384–386). While the Buddha was at Isipatana Migadāva at Benares, an upāsaka named Dhammadinna approached him and requested him to give such instruction as would bring happiness and prosperity. The Buddha gave a discourse on faith in the three refuges and on the ariyasīlas. Dhammadinna informed him that he had faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and fully observed the precepts. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. V, pp. 406–408).

Addhakāsī who was the daughter of a rich banker of Kāśī became a courtezan whose fee was fixed by the king to be half of the income of Kāśī. She being disgusted with worldly life was willing to go to the Buddha to get ordination from him. She informed the Buddha that she could not go to him personally as the dacoits would attack her on her

way to Sāvatthī where the Buddha was. Thus informed the Buddha sent bhikkhus to ordain her and she afterwards became an arahat and acquired analytical knowledge. (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 30–31).

Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā who was a bhikkhuṇī visited many places including Kāśī and Kośala after having obtained ordination. (Ibid., p. 106).

Mahāpajāpati Gotamī was reborn in the kingdom of Kāśī in a certain village as the wife of the chief of 1500 slaves living in that village. By the gift of piṇḍa to a paccekabuddha, she was reborn in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven. From the Tāvatiṁsa heaven, she was born in Devadaha as a daughter of Añjana Sakka. (Ibid., pp. 151–152).

Sonaka, a respectable merchant who came from Kāśī received the first ordination according to the doctrine of the teacher at Giribbaja in the Veluvana monastery. (Dīpavaṁsa, Oldenberg, p. 33; *cf.* Mahāvaṁsa, Geiger, p. 36).

Many venerable Buddhist theras, *e. g.*, Sāriputta, Mahāmoggallana, Mahākaccāna, Mahākoṭṭhita, Mahācuṇḍa, Anuruddha, Revata, Upāli, Ānanda, Rāhula, and others journeyed through the country of Kāśī. (Vinaya Texts, pt. II, pp. 359–360).

There were in Benares many wealthy nobles and brahmins, heads of houses and believers in the Tathāgatha. (Buddhist Suttas, p. 99).

From the Jātakas it is evident that the people of Benares were charitable. They thought charity to be a part of their religion and gave alms to beggars and wayfarers. They were very fond of giving alms to hermits and ascetics with the idea of a better life in the next birth.

In the Lalitavistara there is a reference to Ratnacūḍa, king of Kāśī, who was charitable. (Lefmann, p. 171).

The people of Benares were kind and charitable specially to hermits. (Jātaka, I, p. 361) The rich inhabitants of Benares took care to feed the poor brahmins and also bear the expenses of their teaching (Jātaka, Fausboll, I, p. 239). Visayha, a great merchant of Benares had almshalls built at the four city gates, in the heart of the city and at the door of his own house. He distributed alms at these six points and everyday six hundred thousand men went there to beg. (Jātaka, III, p. 129). In Benares, a certain rich brahmin named Saṅkha had built almshalls in six places, one at each of the city gates, one in the midst of it and one by his own door. Daily he used to give in charity six hundred thousand pieces of money. (Jātaka, IV, p. 15; *cf.* Jātaka, I, p. 262).

When Prince Jarāsandha on his father's death became king, he caused to be built six almonries at the four gates of the city, in the midst of it, and at the palace gate. There everyday he used to distribute six hundred thousand pieces of money and stirred up all India with alms-giving. (Jāt., IV, p. 176).

Kāśī, a centre of industry, trade, etc.

In Benares fine cloths widely known as Kāśī cloths were manufactured. (Jātaka, V, p. 377). In the Lalitavistara we find mention of Kāśī cloths being highly spoken of by Chandaka. (Lalitavistara, Lefmann, p. 215). This fine industry is still alive. Benares cloth by reason of its fineness of texture does not take the oil. (Buddhist Suttas, S. B. E., p. 92). There was in Benares a market known as ivory workers' bazar where ivory works were sold. (Jātaka, Fausböll, II, p. 197). There were stone cutters or experts in working stone-quarrying and

shaping stones. (Jātaka, I, p. 478). Five hundred carpenters lived in a village in Benares. (Jātaka, II, p. 18). There was in Benares a great town of carpenters containing a thousand families. These carpenters avowed publicly that they could make a bed or a chair or a house. But when they took a large advance from the people, they proved themselves liars. They were then so much harrased by their customers that they had to leave the town. (Jātaka, IV, p. 159). A carpenter of Benares prepared mechanical wooden birds by which he conquered a tract of land in the Himavanta and became the ruler of that land. His capital was known as Kaṭṭhavāhananagara. He sent valuable presents to the king of Benares and made friendship with him. The king of Benares in return sent him the news of the advent of the Buddha Kassapa in Benares. Kaṭṭhavāhana sent his minister and the Yuvarāja to see the Buddha in Benares but when they reached Benares Buddha obtained mahāparinibbāṇa. Afterwards the Yuvarāja with a bhikkhu and the relic of the Buddha went back to the Kaṭṭhanagara and the bhikkhu was later successful in converting the king and his subjects into Buddhism. (Suttanipāta Commentary, II, p. 575 foll).

From the Apaṇṇaka Jātaka we learn that there were in Benares rich merchants who used to trade in costly wares and sometimes used to go outside the city with valuable articles to trade (Jātaka, Fausböll, I, p. 98 foll). The Benares merchants used to go about hawking goods which donkies carried for them. (Ibid., II, p. 109). In Benares there were elephant trainers skilled in the art of managing elephants. (Ibid., II, p. 221). Horse dealers from northern districts used to bring horses to Benares for sale. (Ibid., II, p. 287). Sindh horse was available in Benares. It was

known as the swift-as-the-wind. It was the king's horse of ceremony. (Jātaka, II, 338). In Benares there were corn merchants who used to sell corns. (Jātaka, III, p. 198). A trader of Bārānasī went to buy goods with 500 carts to a frontier country and bought sandal wood. (Suttanipāta Commentary, Vol. II, p. 523 foll). A trader of Benares used to trade by putting his goods on the back of an ass. Once he went to Taxila for trade and gave his ass rest there by taking down the goods from its back. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. I, p. 123).

A trader of Benares was going to Sāvatthī with five hundred carts full of red cloth but he could not cross the river as it was full of water, so he had to stay there to sell his goods. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, p. 429).

At Benares there was a rich banker named Mahādhanaseṭṭhi. His parents taught him dancing and music. Another rich banker had a daughter who was trained in dancing and music; and both of them were married. Mahādhanaseṭṭhi began to drink wine and was addicted to gambling with the result that he lost his own wealth as well as his wife's. Afterwards he began to beg for alms. (Dhammapada Commentary, III, p. 129 foll). A Bodhisatta Maitraknyaka neglecting his mother went to Benares and declared himself a merchant. He went to trade on the seashore. (Divyāvadāna, pp. 593–594).

After the death of Priyasena, the chief merchant, Brahmadatta king of Kāśī appointed Supriya as the chief merchant of the royal court. (Divyāvadāna, p. 100). After the death of Brahmadatta, the king of Kāśī, the ministers anointed Supriya as the king of Kāśī. (Divyāvadāna, p. 121). The king of Kāśī together with his subjects learning

that Supriya the royal merchant, accumulated enormous wealth, became very much pleased. (Ibid., p. 121).

In Benares on the banks of the river there was a village of hunters and another on the further side. Five hundred families dwelt in each. (Jātaka, VI, p. 71).

The Nesāda of the Māra Jātaka (II. 36) who was ordered by the king to catch a golden peacock practised the profession of a hunter in a Nesāda village near Benares.

There were in Benares snake-charmers. (Jātaka, III, p. 198).

Social life. Marriage of a girl with a man of the same caste was in vogue in Benares. (Jātaka, I, p. 477).

There used to be held in Benares a festival known as Elephant festival in which brahmins had to chant elephant lore (Hastisūtram). (Jātaka, II, p. 48).

In the elephant festival five score (100) elephants with tusks all white were used. (Jātaka, II, p. 48).

On his father's death, Prince Brahmadatta became the king of Benares. He married the exquisitely beautiful daughter of the Kośalan king and made her the Chief Queen. He held a parasol festival, the whole city was decorated in such a splendid way that it seemed like the city of Gods. The king went round the city in procession. He ascended the decorated palace and mounted the throne on the dais. There was a white parasol erected on the throne. The king looked down on all persons who stood in attendance, "On one side the ministers, on another the Brahmins and householders resplendent in the beauty of varied apparel, on another the townspeople with various gifts in their hands, on another troops of dancing girls to the number of sixteen thousand like a gathering of the nymphs of heaven in full apparel." The king then thought, "This white parasol with golden garland and plinth of massive gold, these many thousand elephants and chariots, my great territory full of jewels and pearls teeming with wealth and grain of all kinds, these women like the nymphs of heaven, and all this splendour which is mine alone, is due only to an alms-gift of four portions of gruel given to four paccekabuddhas. I have gained all this through them." (Jātaka, III, p. 406 foll).

There was a time-honoured drinking festival in which people used to drink strong drink and quarrel with one another. Sometimes their legs and arms were broken, crowns were cracked, ears were torn off. (Jātaka, IV, p. 115).

Slaughter of deer, swine and other animals for making offering to goblins was in vogue in Benares. (Jātaka, IV, p. 114).

There were gallant warriors in Benares. (Jātaka, I, p. 263).

There was a belief current amongst the people of Benares that when kings rule with justice and equity, when they reign peacefully, all things retain their respective nature and character, but when kings rule with injustice and iniquity, when their reign becomes one of terror and tyranny, all things lose their respective nature. Oil, honey, molasses and the like, and even the wild fruits lose their respective sweetness and flavour. (Jātaka, Fausböll, III, pp. 110-111). There was a superstitious belief in Benares as in other countries, that it would be an ill-omen if the wind touching the body of a caṇḍāla touches that of a person of other castes. (Jāt., III, p. 233).

In Benares there was a brahmin who professed to tell whether the swords were lucky or not. (Jātaka, I, p. 455).

The Brahmins of Benares knew lakkhaṇamantam by which they told that among the aquatic animals, fish, tortoise, crab and among the beings living on land, deer, swan, peacock, partridge and men were of golden colour. (Jātaka, IV, p. 335).

People of Benares used to go to Taxila, two thousand leagues (Jāt., II, p. 47) away from Benares, to receive education. (Dhammapada Commentary, I, pp. 250–251). Dhammapada Commentary tells us that a king of Benares learnt a mantra from a young brahmin by paying him 1000 kahāpaṇas as the teacher's fee. The king saved his life from the hands of the barber who was instigated by the senāpati to kill him by that manta. (D. C., I, 251 foll).

A brahmin of Taxila sent his son Susīma to learn Vedic mantra from a teacher who was his father's friend. The teacher taught him well. (D. C., III, p. 445).

A young man of Benares went to Taxila to learn archery from a distinguished teacher and he was well-versed in the art and the teacher being satisfied gave his daughter in marriage to him. (D. C., IV, p. 66).

From the Jātakas we learn that Benares was ruled with justice and equity. The ministers of the king of Benares were just. No false suit was brought into the court, and true cases were so scanty that sometimes ministers had to sit idly and go away without finding a single suitor. The king of Benares was always on the alert to know his own faults. He used to wander about in the city in disguise but none told him anything against him. Once he went outside the city to know whether there was anyone who might now

anything against him. At this time, the king of Kośala who ruled with righteousness started out to find out his faults from persons outside his city. On the way the two kings met, the road was very narrow, there was no room for one carriage to pass another. Each of the drivers spoke of the virtues of his king, the king of Kośala and his driver descended from the carriage, loosed the horses and moved the carriage out of the way to give place to the king of Benares. (Jāt., II, pp. 1–5).

In the Dhammapada Commentary, we read that a king of Benares went out in disguise to enquire whether any of his subjects spoke ill of him. For 1000 kahāpaṇas he learnt from a young brahmin of Benares a mantra which enabled him to read the evil thoughts of people. (D. C., Vol. I, pp. 251 foll).

In spite of good government the country was not free from crime. Cakkhupāla was a physician at Benares. He gave medicine to a woman who deceived him by telling a lie. He being angry with her gave her a medicine which made her blind. (D. C., I, p. 20).

There are instances of high way robbery and house breaking. In the Satapatta Jātaka we find that the Bodhisatta gathered five hundred robbers and became their chief and lived by highway robbery and housebreaking. (Jātaka, Fausböll, II, pp. 387–388).

CHAPTER II

THE KOŚALAS

References in early literature.

In the earliest Vedic literature, The Ṛgveda, or the other Saṁhitās, no mention is made of Kośala as the name of a people. It is only in some of the later Vedic works, the Śatapatha Brāhmana, and the Kalpasūtras that we find Kośala as one of the countries in Vedic aryandom. Kośala is also mentioned in the Pāli Buddhist literature as one of the sixteen great countries (Mahājanapadas) of Jambudīpa,[1] or India. Pānini too in one of his sūtras (vi. i. 17) mentions Kośala. In the Atthasālinī, (P. T. S. p. 305) Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, mention is made of the Kośalas as one of the great kṣatriya tribes in Buddha's time. Kośala is mentioned as a beautiful place, attractive, pleasant, full of ten kinds of noise, rice, food, drink etc. It was large, prosperous, wealthy and rich like Alakanandā of the devas.[2]

In Buddha's time Kośala was a powerful kingdom in Northern India but it had already been eclipsed by the growing power of Magadha.[3]

1. Anguttara Nikāya, vol. IV, p. 256; cf. Viṣṇupurāṇa, ch. IV, Amśa 4.

2. Khuddakapāṭha commentary, pp. 110-111; cf. Papañcasūdanī (P. T. S.) vol. I, pp. 59-60.

3. Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 308-9.

Location.

Kośala lay to the east of the Kurus and Pañcālas, and to the west of the Videhas from whom it was separated by the river Sadānīrā, probably the great Gaṇḍak.[1] According to Drs. Macdonell and Keith, Kośala lay to the north-east of the Ganges and corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh.[2] According to Mr. Rapson, Kośala formed a kingdom lying to the east of Pañcāla and to the west of Videha. It is the modern province of Oudh in the United Provinces.[3] In the Cambridge History of India (Vol. I, p. 178) we read that the northern frontier of Kośala must have been in the hills in what is now Nepal; its southern boundary was the Ganges; and its eastern boundary was the eastern limit of the Śākiyan territory. According to Prof. Rhys Davids, the Kośalas were the ruling clan in the kingdom whose capital was Sāvatthī, in what is now Nepal, 70 miles north-west of the modern Gorakhpur. He thinks that it included Benares and Sāketa, and probably had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gaṇdak for its eastern boundary and the mountains for its northern boundary.[4] Buddhagosa, the great commentator of many of the books of the Pāli canon, narrates an anecdote giving a fanciful origin of the name of Kośala.

Origin of the name.

He says in his commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, that the country inhabited by the Kośala princes was technically called Kośala. In ancient times, prince Mahāpanāda of this country (*i. e.* Kośala) was

1. Cambridge History of India, p. 308.
2. Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 190.
3. Rapson, Ancient India, p. 164; Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 117.
4. Buddhist India, p. 25.

very grave and did not smile. The king tried to make him smile and proclaimed that he would offer a great reward to the person who would be able to bring a smile on the Prince's face. Many from among the subjects of his kingdom came to the capital in order to win the reward but all their efforts were in vain. At last the god Indra sent his own nāṭakaṁ (dramatical party) to make him smile and it became successful. Then the people who had flocked to the court to make the prince smile began to return home. The relatives and friends of the people seeing them on the way after a long time asked them, "kacci bho kusalam, kacci bho kusalam" (Are you all right ?). From the word 'kusalam', the country came to be called 'Kośala' (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, 239).

Origin of the tribe.

In the Cambridge History of India,[1] we read that the Kośalans were almost certainly, in the main at least, of the Aryan race. Further, the Kośalans belonged to the solar family and were derived directly from Manu through Ikṣvāku. A family of princes bearing this name is known from the Vedic literature and it is quite possible that the solar dynasties of Kośala and other kingdoms to the east of the middle country were descended from this family. If so, Ikṣvāku must be regarded as an eponymous ancestor; and as his superhuman origin had to be explained, a myth founded on a far-fetched etymology of his name was invented. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu.[2] The Vedic literature points out that the Ikṣvākus were originally a branch of the Purus. They were kings of Kośala.[3]

1. Vol. I, p. 190.
2. Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 305.
3. Ibid., p. 308.

Kośala in the Brāhmaṇa period.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i, 4, 11) the Kośala-Videhas appear as falling later than the Kuru-Pañcālas under the influence of Brāhmaṇism. The river Sadānīrā forms the boundary between the peoples, Kośala and Videha. In the same work (XIII, 5, 4, 4), the Kauśalya or Kośala king Para-aṭnāra Hiraṇyanābha is described as having performed the great Aśvamedha sacrifice. A passage in the Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV, 1, 9, 13) shows the connection of Kośala with Kāśī and Videha. In the Praśṇa Upaniṣad (vi, 1), Āśvalāyana who was very probably a descendant of Aśvala, the hotṛ priest of Videha, is called a Kauśalya.

Kośala in the Epic period.

It is in the Epic period that Kośala emerges into great importance. The scene of action of the Rāmāyaṇa is in Kośala, the princes of which country carry Aryan civilisation to the south as far as the island of Ceylon. Mr. Pargiter points out that it is remarkable that in the Rāmāyaṇa the friendliest relations of Kośala were with the eastern kingdoms of Videha, Aṅga and Magadha, the Punjab kingdoms of Kekaya, Sindhu and Sauvīra, the western kingdom of Surāṣṭra and the Dākṣiṇātya kings, for these are especially named among the kings who were invited for Daśaratha's sacrifice and no mention is made of any of the kings of the middle region of Northern India except Kāśī.[1] Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that it was under King Dilīpa II and his immediate descendants, that the country had acquired the name of Kośala.[2]

1. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 276.
2. Ibid., p. 275.

In the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata we read that Janamejaya, one of the earliest kings of the Paurava family, was the son of Puru and Kauśalyā. Most probably this Kauśalyā was the daughter of a king of Kośala (Ch. 95, p. 105). When Yudhiṣṭhira was going to perform the great Rājasūya sacrifice setting himself up as the paramount sovereign over the whole of northern India, and his brothers went out on their expeditions of conquest all over the country, it is said that Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma started from the Kuru kingdom and reached Mithilā after crossing pūrva (eastern) Kośala (Sabhāparva, Ch 25, p. 240). Afterwards the second Pāṇḍava brother, Bhīmasena conquered Bṛhadbala, king of Kośala (Sabhāparva, Ch. 30, pp. 241-242), and this Bṛhadbala, king of Kośala, attended the Rājasūya yañja (Ibid, Ch. 34, p. 545). Karṇa conquered Kośala and after exacting tribute from the country, proceeded southwards (Vanaparva, ch. 253, p. 513). Evidently this conquest of Kośala by Karṇa was subsequent in date to that by Bhīmasena, inasmuch as we find the Kośala king, Bṛhadbala led by Duryodhana marched against the Pāṇḍavas (Udyogaparva, Ch. 97, p. 807). Perhaps it was also because the Kośalas were smarting under the defeat inflicted on them by Bhīmasena that they embraced the Kaurava side in the great war. We find, moreover, that in the Kuruksetra war, ten warriors including Bṛhadabala of Kośala, were fighting in the van of the Kuru army (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 16, pp. 827–828), so that he was recognised as one of the leading heroes on that side. Bṛhadbala, king of Kośala, fought with Abhimanyu (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 45, p. 916) against whom the greatest leaders of the Kuru army led an united attack. King Duryodhana protected the army of Śakuni when the latter was hard pressed by the Pāṇḍavas with the help of the Kośalas and others. (Ibid., Ch. 57, pp. 924–925). Bṛhadbala, king of Kośala marched with the army of Tripura, Viṇda and others in the Kurukṣetra war (Ibid., Ch. 87, p. 957). In the Karṇaparva we read that Bṛhadbala was killed by Abhimanyu (Ch. 5, pp. 1167–1168). Sukṣetra, who was the son of the king of Kośala, also fought in the great war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas (Droṇaparva, Ch. 22, pp. 1012–1013). After the Great War was ended, we find that Kośala was again attacked and conquered by Arjuna before the performance of the Aśvamedha by Yudhiṣṭhira (Aśvamedhaparva, Ch. 42, p. 2093).

Extent of the Kośala country in Epic times.

About the extent of the Kośala country in the Epic period we may form some idea from the account furnished by the story of the exile of Rāma. Therein we find that after setting out from Ayodhyā, the Kośala capital, the young princes accompanied by Sītā proceeded in a chariot from the capital so that, as Mr. Pargiter points out (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 234), there must have been good roads in the Kośala country. This is also corroborated by the Jātaka stories where we find that merchants loading as many as five huudred wagons with their merchandise marched from Magadha and the Licchavi countries through Kośala up to the western and north-western frontiers of India. Rāma on his march away from Ayodhyā was followed by a large concourse of citizens until he reached the river Tamasā where he made the first halt in the journey. To get rid of the citizens he had his chariot yoked at night and after crossing the Tamasā or the modern Tons, and reaching the other bank he directed his course northwards in orders to mislead the citizens who would no doubt follow him in the morning. The Rāmāyaṇa

adds that on the other side of the Tamasā, Rāma's chariot reached the mahāmārga or the great road which was evidently a trade-route. Following this they reached the river Srīmatī Mahānadī and passed through the Kośala country. After crossing the river Vedaśruti he turned his course towards the south. After proceeding a long distance he crossed the Gomatī and the Syandikā. After crossing the latter river Rāma pointed out to Sītā the wide plain given by Manu to the originator of the family, Ikṣvāku. This region was evidently sonsidered by the Kośala people as the cradle of the race, the country with which Ikṣvāku began his career of conquest. This country is said to be highly prosperous (Sphitā) and also very populous (rāṣṭravṛtā). Proceeding through the extensive Kośala plains (Viśālān Kośalān yātvā), he left behind him the Kośala regions (Kośalān atyavartata) and reached the Ganges up to which river evidently the Kośala dominion extended. Here he arrived at Śṛṅgaverapura which was the seat of the Niṣāda king Guha who was evidently the chief of a non-Aryan settlement. Here he sent back the chariot, and crossing the Ganges at this place, the party entered the forest. Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified Śṛṅgaverapura with the modern Singror or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges and 22 miles to the north-west of Prayāga or Allahabad (Arch. Survey Report, Vols. XI, 62 and XXI, 11) (For further geography of Rāma's exile, see Pargiter, J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 231 *et seq*).

Kośala in the post—Epic period.

As in the Epics, so also in the Purāṇas, the Kośalas are given very great prominence among the Aryan Kṣatriya tribes of northern India. We have already referred to the Paurāṇic legend about the origin of the Kośala royal family from Ikṣvāku, the great eponymous ancestor

born from the sneeze of Manu, the son of the Sun-God. All the Purāṇas agree in giving this etymological derivation of the name of the great king to whom is traced the origin of many of the ruling dynasties of eastern India including that of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu.

The Kośala line of kings derived from Ikṣvāku produced according to the account given by the Purāṇas and the Epics, a large number of sovereigns who held up the glory of the family very high, and some of them, like Māndhātā, Sagara, Bhagīratha, and Raghu occupied the highest position amongst the kings of ancient India, so that a short study of this family of great kings is well worth our attention.

Ikṣvāku is credited by most of the Purāṇas (*e. g.*, Viṣṇu-purāṇa, IV, 2, 3; Vāyu-purāṇa, 88, 8–11) with a large number of sons who divided the whole of India among themselves. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa says that Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons of whom fifty with Śakuni at their head became the protectors of northern India (Uttarāpatharakṣitāraḥ) and forty-eight established themselves as rulers over southern India (Dakṣināpatha bhūpālāḥ).[1] The Vāyu-purāṇa says that it was not the sons of Ikṣvāku who divided the country among themselves but that it was the children of Ikṣvāku's son Vikukṣi who set themselves up as rulers in Uttarāpatha and Dakṣināpatha. This slight discrepancy, however, is immaterial, and though the number given of Ikṣvāku's immediate descendants is certainly fanciful yet it seems worthy of credence that the family sprung from Ikṣvāku spread their rule far and wide over India, as many of the ruling families of India trace their descent to him.

The Bhāgavata-purāṇa furnishes greater details about the different parts of India where the sons of Ikṣvāku set up

1. Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 2, 3.

their rule. It states that of the hundred sons of Ikṣvāku, twenty-five established themselves as kings in the front portion, that is, in the eastern districts of Āryāvarta and an equal number in the hind portion, that is, in the west; two settled in the central region or the Madhya-deśa and the rest in other parts of the country; these are no doubt the forty-eight who became kings in Dakṣināpatha according to the Vāyu and Viṣṇu-purāṇas, so that these three purāṇas are quite in agreement with regard to this point.

About the next king Vikukṣi we are told by the purāṇas that he had incurred the displeasure of his father, Ikṣvāku, by the violation of some ceremonial rule and hence was forsaken by the latter but after his death Vikukṣi ascended the throne and reigned over the country according to law and custom (dharmataḥ). It is said of Parañjaya the next king, that his aid was sought for by the Devas who were hard pressed by the Asuras; but the king imposed a condition that he would do so if borne in the fight on the shoulders of Indra himself. The Devas had to submit and the king thus obtained the name of Kakutstha. Most probably the mythical story was invented afterwards to furnish a plausible derivation for the name.

Sixth in descent from Kakutstha was king Śrāvasta the founder of the city of Śrāvastī[1] which afterwards became the capital of northern Kośala. Śrāvasta's grandson, Kuvalayāśva, is credited with the overthrowing of an Asura, Dhundhu, which, however, seems to signify the control of a

1. Śrāvastaḥ śrāvastim purīm niveśayāmāsa (Viṣṇu-purāṇa, IV. 2, 12.

Yajñe Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmitā (Vāyu-purāṇa, LXXXVIII, XXVII.)

natural phenomenon. According to the account given in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, Chs. 201–203) the Ṛṣi Utaṅka complained to the king Bṛhadaśva, the son of Śrāvasta, that his hermitage which was situated on the sands on the sea-coast in the west, was disturbed by the Asura, Dhundhu, who from a subterranean retreat (antarbhu-migataḥ) caused him much trouble. From time to time when the Asura gave out his breath, the earth trembled, dust clouds were raised and sometimes the tremor of the earth continued for a week accompanied by the throwing out of smoke, sparks and flames, and on account of this it had become very difficult for him to stay at his hermitage and he prayed the king for relief from this source of trouble. It is manifest that the subterranean Asura that troubled the Ṛṣi Utaṅka was nothing but a small volcanic pit near the western sea-coast which occasionally caused earthquakes and emitted smoke, ashes and fire. The old king Bṛhadaśva sent his son Kuvalayāśva to destroy this Asura and the method that this prince adopted for the purpose leaves no doubt that it was a volcanic outburst that he went to control. The prince went to the spot with an army of twenty-one-thousand men, who are said to be his sons whom he set to dig up the earth all round. After the excavation had proceeded for a week, the flaming body of Dhundhu became visible to all but with disastrous consequences to the thousands of soldiers ("sons of the king" as the Purāṇa tells us), who perished in the smoke and flames only three surviving. The excavation, however, appears to have opened a subterranean channel or reservoir of water which rushing into the volcanic pit served to extinguish it for ever, for we are told by the Epics and the Purāṇas, that after Dhundhu had reduced to ashes the twenty-one thousand sons of Kuvalayāśva, streams of water flowed out of his body and the king was credited with having

put down the fire by means of the water[1] and acquired the appellation of Dhundhumāra for this achievement.

A few generations after Kuvalayāśva, there was born in this royal family, the great monarch Māndhātā, who according to the Paurāṇic accounts, exercised imperial sway over the whole of the earth with the seven divisions or islands and became a Cakravartin or emperor excercising suzerain sway.[2] In Māndhātā's dominions, it is said, the sun never set: a verse (śloka) is quoted by the Purāṇas themselves as being recited by those versed in traditionary lore (Paurāṇika dvijāḥ)—"From where the sun rises to where he sets, all this is the land (kṣetra) of Māndhātā, the son of Yuvanāśva."[3] As in the cases of Ikṣvāku and Kakutstha fanciful stories based on a literal derivation of the name are narrated in the Purāṇas which state that the name Māndhātā was due to what Indra said (Māṁdhātā "he will suck me") when this prince was born. The Bhagavatapurāṇa adds that Māndhātā also acquired the designation of Trasadasyu on account of the fear that he struck into the minds of the Dasyus. Māndhātā is said to have given his daughters in marriage to the Ṛsi Sauvari. Purukutsa, one of the sons of Māndhātā, is said to have married a girl of the Nāgas who being much troubled by some Gandharva tribes sought for his help and the Nāga princess by her supplications took her husband to the Nāga country (Nāgaloka) and had the Gandharvas defeated by him. The Nāgas who were evidently some non-Aryan tribes are often confounded by the Purāṇas with snakes.

1. Vāyupurāṇa, chap. LXXXVIII.
2. Vāyupurāṇa, LXXXVIII, LXVIII; Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2.
3. Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2, xviii.

Trasadasyu was begot on this Nāga queen and ascended the throne on his father's death. Trasadasyu's son, Anaraṇya, is said to have been killed by Rāvaṇa when the latter went out on his expedition of conquest. This is hardly possible if we take Rāvaṇa as a historical personage, inasmuch as this ruler of the Rākṣasa tribes was a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathin who lived many generations after Anaraṇya.

Several generations after this, from the Kośala king Trayyāruṇa was born a prince Satyavrata who for three acts of violence was condemned by his father as well as by Vaśiṣṭha, the family priest and was given the name of Triśaṅku. Vaśiṣṭha's rival Viśvāmitra, however, espoused his cause, placed him on the throne of Kośala and sent him to heaven. Triśaṅku's son Hariścandara became a very great monarch of the Kośalas; he celebrated a Rājasuya sacrifice and became famous as a Samrāṭ or Emperor (Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 88, verse 118). The story as to how Hariścandra promised to sacrifice his son to god Varuṇa and at last Śunaḥsepa, a brāhmaṇa lad, was offered in his stead is told in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, evidently taking it from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa where the events are narrated at great length. The Bhāgavata purāṇa also adds that there was a long-standing quarrel between Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra over this Kośala king Hariścandra. The Mahābhārata (iii, ch. 12) also speaks of the surpassing glories of King Hariścandra of Kośala; at the court of Indra, he was the only rājṛṣi who was entitled to sit, as he was a very powerful Samrāṭ to whom all the rulers of the earth had to bow down, and who had by his own arms brought under his sway the whole of the earth with its seven islands. He celebrated the Rājasuya sacrifice on a grand scale distributing the immense treasure that he had accumulated by his prowess and after the

Rājasuya was completed he was installed in the sovereignty of the earth as a Samrāṭ by the thousands of kings assembled. Nārada who gave this account to Yudhisṭhira urged him to try to rival the glories of this great monarch inasmuch as his father Pāṇḍu seeing Nārada come down to earth had asked him to urge Yudhisṭhira to do so. Hariścandra was so highly respected as a magnanimous donor that a saying of his is quoted in the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (xiii, 65) and his great sacrifices are referred to (xii, 20) including the one in which Śunaḥśepa figured (xiii, 3). In the lists of the ancient kings of India who exercised imperial sway over India, the name of Hariścandra recurs in the Purāṇas and the Epics.

With Vāhu who came to the Kośala throne several generations after the Samrāṭ Hariścandra, the Kośala power suffered a great reverse. Vāhu was defeated by his enemies, the confederacy of the Haihayas, Tālajaṅghas and other allied kṣatriya tribes and was forced to abdicate his throne. He repaired to the forest where after his death his wife bore a son who was reared and brought up with great care by the Ṛsi Aurva near whose hermitage the king had taken refuge and built his woodland home.

This young prince had the making of a great king in him and when came of age he sought to revive the glories of Kośala and place it again in the high position of suzerain power in India. This was the great Sagara who almost exterminated the Haihayas and it is said that foreign tribes living on the frontiers of India were so hard pressed by the prowess of this young hero that they sought the protection of Sagara's family preceptor, Vaśiṣtha, at whose request the young Kośala monarch desisted from their extermination on which he was bent. Then the story is told in the Purāṇas

how he got one son Asamañjas by one of his queens and sixty thousand sons by another. Asamañjas was abandoned by his father on account of his bad conduct. Sagara employed the sixty thousand sons to defend against all aggressors the horse of the Aśvamedha in its unbridled career over the earth. The sacrificial horse was secreted by some one at the hermitage of the Ṛsi Kapila down below the earth in Pātāla. Sagara's sons looking about for it could not find it anywhere on earth and then dug up a large portion of its surface and at last discovered it at the hermitage of Kapila. This Ṛsi they insulted and as a result they were reduced to ashes by him. Sagara then sent his grandson, Aṁśumān in quest of the horse; he appeased the wrath of Kapila, succeeded in bringing back the horse and obtained a promise from the Ṛsi that his uncles would be purged of their sins when his grandson would bring down the heavenly Ganges down below to the pit excavated by them. Thus the sacrifice was completed by Sagara who pleased by the achievements of Aṁśumān looked over the claims of his abandoned son Asamañjas and made over the Kośala throne to him.

The grandson of Aṁśumān was the great Bhagīratha who after ascending the throne made his prowess felt far and wide and became a Cakravartin as the Mahābhārata (iii, 108) tells us. But coming to know of the great duty that devolved upon him of rescuing his ancestors from the evil fate that had overtaken them, he left the government of his vast empire in the hands of his ministers, and the story is well-known how he by the severest penances succeeded in bringing down the divine river from the Himālayas, and thus filled up the pit excavated by his ancestors to form the sāgara or ocean, and thus the holy stream acquired the designation of the Bhāgīrathī. The Rāmāyaṇa (i, 39-44)

gives the story at great length and so does the Mahābhārata (iii, 106-109).

After several great names in the list of Kośala sovereigns after Bhagīratha we meet with Ṛtuparṇa who was a contemporary of the celebrated Vidarbha monarch Nala whom he taught the secret art of playing the dice (akṣahṛdaya) and acquired from him in exchange the science of training horses. The story is told at great length in the Mahābhārata (iii, 71 ff) how the Kośala monarch Ṛtuparṇa had employed Nala as his charioteer when the latter was depressed by the reverses of fortune and how the exchange of a knowledge of the sciences was made when Nala as the charioteer of Ṛtuparṇa was carrying him from his capital Ayodhyā to Kuṇḍinapura.

Ṛtuparṇa's son was Sudāsa who is identified by some with the king of the same name in the Ṛg-veda. Sudāsa's son was Mitrasaha Saudāsa who became famous afterwards as Kalmāṣapāda. The story of Kalmāṣapāda is told in the Purāṇas and many other works how he, owing to the curse of Vaśiṣṭha became a rākṣasa for twelve years.

Saudāsa's grandson Vālika requires more than a passing notice. It is said in the Purāṇas that when Paraśurāma was carrying out his terrible vow of exterminating the kṣatriyas on the earth, this Vālika was saved from his wrath by being surrounded by a number of naked women and thus became known as Nārikavaca, that is, a person protected by women and as he was the Mūla or source from which future generations of kṣatriyas sprang up, he also acquired the designation of Mūlaka.

In the fourth generation after Mūlaka in whom the Kośala royal family was perpetuated after the general

massacre of the kṣatriyas by Paraśurāma, we come to a Kośala sovereign Khaṭvāṅga whose praises are sung by the Purāṇa. He is spoken of as a samrāt whose great prowess led to his invitation by the gods to help them in their fight with the Asuras and an ancient verse is cited in the Purāṇas saying, "On the earth there will be no one that would equal Khaṭvāṅga in merit inasmuch as on coming back from the regions of the gods and learning that he had only one muhūrta (about three quarters of an hour) to live, won the three worlds by his good sense and by charity" (Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 4, 39). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (ix, 9) adds that Khaṭvāṅga, within the remaining short period of his life, devoted himself to the meditation of the supreme spirit with such a zeal as to obtain mokṣa. Khaṭvāṅga's grandson was the great Raghu who gave his name to the family, and Raghu's grandson again was Daśaratha, the father of Rāma in whom the glory of the Kośala royal dynasty reached its culmination, the god Viṣṇu himself incarnated in him and his three other brothers. It is said that through their regard for these princes, the people residing in the cities and the villages of Kośala country reached the heaven of Viṣṇu. After Rāma the extensive Kośala empire is said to have been divided amongst the sons of the four brothers. The sons of the youngest brother Śatrughna ruled at Mathurā which had been established by their father after defeating the rākṣasas. The sons of Lakṣmaṇa established two kingdoms in the far north in the neighbourhood of the Himālayās, while Bharata's sons founded the cities of Takṣasilā and Puṣkarāvatī in the Gandhāra country as the Vāyupurāṇa (88, 189-190) tells us. The Kośala country proper is said to have been divided into two. In southern Kośala, Kuśa, the elder of the two sons of Rāma, became king and transferred his capital from

Ayodhyā to Kuśasthalī which he built up at the foot of the Vindhyā range (Vindhyā-parvata sānuṣu; Vāyu purāṇa, 88, 198). Lava, the younger, became the ruler of the northern Kośala country and set up his capital at the city of Śarāvatī or Śrāvastī which we find to be the seat of the Kośala sovereigns at the time Buddha lived.

Among the kings that followed Kuśa in the main line of the Kośala monarchs we do not meet with any great name until we come to Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya who is said to have been a disciple of the great Ṛṣi Jaimini from whom he learnt the science of Yoga and imparted it in his turn to the great Yogin Yājñavalkya (Bhāgavata-purāṇa, IX, 12). This glory of proficiency in the Yogaśāstra is, however, transferred by some of the Purāṇas to Hiraṇyanābha's son, whom the Vāyu-purâṇa calls Vaśiṣṭha (Vâyu, 88, 207–8) and the Viṣṇu-purâṇa names Puṣya (Viṣṇu-purâṇa, IV, 4, 48). The fifth in descent from the latter monarch was Maru or Manu who is said to be living in the village of Kalâpa in a state of Yoga (meditation) and waiting to be the progenitor of the kṣatriyas in the next cycle. Several generations down from this monarch was Bṛhadbala who led the Kośala troops to the great Kurukṣetra fight and was killed there in the battle by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna. To this we have already referred in a previous section. Many of the Purâṇas end their enumeration of the Kośala sovereigns with Bṛhadbala, while some others like the Bhâgavata add a few more names who are called the future kings of the Ikṣvāku family. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (IX, 12, 16) observes that the last king of the Ikṣvāku line would be Sumitra and adds that during his reign there will be the advent of the Kaliyuga, and the family will come to an end.

The Vāyu-purāṇa also in a later chapter (Ch. 99) gives a list of the kings in the Ikṣvāku line after Bṛhadbala whom

it calls here Bṛhadratha, which is apparently a mistake because at the end it mentions Bṛhadbala. Five generations after this Bṛhadratha the Vāyu-purāṇa says that Divākara "is at present ruling the city of Ayodhyā" (Yaśca sāmpratamadhyāste Ayodhyām nagarīm nṛpaḥ) and after Divākara, it speaks of the future kings that will come in the line. This so-called future list comes to a termination with Sumitra and this Purāṇa also like the Bhāgavata quotes a passage which lays down that with the advent of Kaliyuga the family of the Ikṣvākus will come to an end. The Vāyu-purāṇa list though slightly different is substantially the same as the one in the Bhāgavata, and one peculiar feature of these lists is that they include Śuddhodana and Rāhula in the list of future Ikṣvāku rulers. The kings of the Ikṣvāku line are praised by the Vāyu-purāṇa as "heroic, proficient in learning, established in truth and having their senses under control" (Vāyu-purāṇa, Chs. 99, 291).

The list in the Matsya-purāṇa (Ch. 12) from Kuśa to the Bhārata war is considerably shorter than the lists referred to above and is evidently wrong. It speaks of Śrutaya as the king who fell in the Bhārata war while in most of the Purāṇas, Bṛhadbala is mentioned as the king who did so.

The history of Kośala in later times is known chiefly from Jaina and Buddhist literature. In the Jaina Kalpasūtra we read that on the death of Mahāvīra, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kośala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, on the day of the new moon, instituted an illumination on the Posada which was a fasting day (Kalpasūtra, § 128, S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. 266). Prof. Jacobi observes, "According to the Jainas, the Licchavis and the Mallakis were the chiefs of Kāśī and Kośala. They seem to

have succeeded the Aiksvâkas who ruled there in the time of the Râmâyaṇa." (Jaina Sūtras, pt. II, p. 321, n. 3).

The Pâli Buddhist literature is full of information about Kośala which appears to have occupied a very prominent position at the time of Buddha.

Pokkharasādi.

We hear of many worthies of Kośala. The Dīgha Nikâya, for instance, tells us that a famous brâhmaṇa teacher of Kośala and the teacher of Ambaṭṭha, Pokkharasâdi enjoyed the property given by Pasenadi the contemporary of Buddha and that the king did not allow him to come to his presence. Pasenadi used to consult him behind the screen (Vol. I, p. 103). Buddhaghosa also furnishes some details about this sage, who, as we have seen, is mentioned in the Dīgha Nikâya. Pokkharasâti or Pokkharasâdi, says the commentator, was a brāhmaṇa, living at Ukkaṭṭhanagara given by the king of Kośala, Pasenadi, as Brahmadeyya (*i. e.*, as a fee given to a brahmin). He was well-versed in the Vedas. He had been brought up and educated by a hermit who taught him many sippas or arts. He satisfied the king of Kośala by a display of his learning. Thus satisfied, the king bestowed upon him Ukkaṭṭhanagara (Sumaṅgalavilâsinı, pt. I, pp. 244–245).

Poṭṭhapāda.

Another eminent man was Poṭṭhapâda. Mallikā, queen of Pasenadi, built an ârâma at the Kośala capital, Sâvatthī, known as Mallikârâma, where this teacher went to live. Buddha in course of his begging tour, came to Poṭṭhapâda and they had a talk about the means of the cessation of consciousness, observance of precepts, restraint of sense-organs, etc. (Dīgha Nikâya, Vol. II, pp. 178 ff).

Kośala as described in the early Buddhist texts.

The Jâtakas and Vinaya texts are full of details about Kośala. It is related in one of these works that once in Kośala, there was no rain, the crops were withered and everywhere ponds, tanks and lakes were dried up (Jâtaka, Vol. I, p. 183). It is narrated in another Jâtaka story that in Kośala there was a brâhmaṇa who by simply smelling a sword could say whether it was lucky or not (Jâtaka, Vol. I, p. 277). Gangs of burglars, highway-men and murderers were not unknown in Kośala. (Ibid., Vol. II, p. 97). In the Kośala country, the inhabitants were often carried away and killed by them. (Vinaya texts, pt. I, p. 312).

This is not very unlikely as the Kośala country included the forest-clad hills and valleys of the outer spurs of the Himalayas. In the Pabbajjâ Suttanta of the Sutta-Nipāta, we read that the inhabitants of Kośala were healthy and powerful (p. 73).

Pasenadi, king of Kośala.

The Dhammapada commentary furnishes us with some interesting information regarding Kośala. We learn from that work that Pasenadi, son of Mahākośala, was educated at Taxila; Mahâli, a Licchavi prince, and a Malla prince of Kuśinârâ were his class-mates (D. C., pt. I, pp. 337–338). He (Pasenadi) ascended the throne of Kośala after the death of his father. Bāvari, who was the son of the chaplain of Pasenadi's father, became Pasenadi's chaplain. Pasenadi bestowed on him honour and wealth. In his youth the new king had learnt sippa from Bāvari who informed his royal patron that he would renounce the worldly life. He took ordination and lived in the royal garden. Many brāhmaṇas became his disciples. Pasenadi served him morning and

evening with the four requisites. Afterwards Bāvari with his disciples went to the Dakkhināpatha as he was unwilling to stay in the royal garden any more (Sutta Nipāta Commentary, II, pp. 579 foll.). Kośala was not inhabited by the seṭṭhis previous to Pasenadi of Kośala who asked Maṇḍakaseṭṭhi and Dhanañjayaseṭṭhi to settle in the country and they did settle there. (Dhammapada Commentary, pt. I, pp. 384 foll.).

Again, we read that Pasenadi of Kośala was enamoured of a beautiful woman and tried to win her by killing her husband, but he gave up this idea when warned by Buddha (Ibid, II, pp. 1 foll).

The Kośalan king had a fight with Ajātaśatru for the village of Kāśī. He was thrice defeated. He gave up his food out of shame for this defeat by a mere boy. In the end he won victory over Ajātaśatru and captured him.

A great hall of the Law (Saddhama Mahāsālā) was built by king Pasenadi for Buddha. (Ibid., pp. 1–2).

The Śākyas became the vassals of king Pasenadi of Kośala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated Buddha. (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 80). The Tibetan books have preserved a story of the Kośala king who visited the capital of the Śâkyas. Once Pasenadi, king of Kośala, carried away by his horse, reached Kapilavastu alone, and roaming about hither and thither came to the garden of Mahânâman. Here he saw the beautiful Mallikâ, a slave girl of Mahânâman. He noticed the shrewdness and wisdom of the girl, went to Mahânâman and expressed his desire to marry her. Mahânâman agreed and the king took her with him in great pomp to Śrâvastī. In due course a child was born to Mallikâ. This child was called Viruḍhaka or the



Pasenadi of Kosala

high-born (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp. 75–77). This story is a Tibetan version of the famous story of Pasenadi and Vâsabhakhattiyâ which is thus told in the Mahâvastu Avadâna.

King Pasenadi had a great admiration for Buddha. He wished to establish a connection with Buddha's family by marriage and wanted to marry one of the daughters of the Śâkya chiefs. The Śâkyas decided that it was beneath their dignity to marry one of their daughters to the king of Kośala (Buddhist India, p. 11). Accordingly they sent a girl named Vâsabhakhattiyâ, a daughter, by a slave woman, of one of their leading chiefs, Mahânâman. In course of time, a son was born to Pasenadi and Vâsabhakhattiyâ. This son was named Viḍūḍabha who when he came of age found out that the Śâkyas had deceived his father Pasenadi by giving a daughter of a slave woman to marry. He resolved to take revenge upon them. With the help of his commander-in-chief Dīrgha Cârâyana, he deposed his father and got possession of the throne for himself. After ascending the throne, Viḍūḍabha invaded the Śâkya country, took their city and slew many of them without any distinction of age or sex. (Vide Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, pp. 197–201).

Many are the stories told about Pasenadi's dealings with Buddha and his disciples.

In the Saṁyutta Nikâya we read that Pasenadi before accepting Buddha's discipleship saw Buddha at Jetavana. Pesenadi asked him thus, "Six heretical teachers, *e. g.*, Pūraṇa Kassapa and others, who are senior to you in age and in point of time of ordination, do not care to call themselves Buddhas. How is it that you though younger in age call yourself a Buddha?" Buddha replied, "A Kṣatriya,

a serpent, fire and a bhikkhu though younger in age should not be disregarded." Pasenadi hearing this became his disciple (Vol. I, pp. 68–70).

After the death of Mallikā, Pasenadi went to Buddha at Jetavana. He consoled him as he was very much afflicted with grief (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 57).

In the Khuddakapāṭha commentary, we read that at Sāvatthī, there was a householder who was rich and wealthy. He had faith in Buddha. One day he fed Buddha along with the bhikkhusaṅgha. Once when king Pasenadi was in need of money, he sent for the householder who replied that he was concealing the treasures and he would see the king with them afterwards (pp. 216–217).

Once some quarrelsome bhikkhus of Kosambī intended to ask the pardon of Buddha on account of their fault while Buddha was at Sāvatthī. Pasenadi hearing of their advent went to Buddha and told his intention of not allowing them to come to Kośala but the king was advised by Buddha not to do so (Dhammapada Commentry, pt. I, p. 64).

The king of Kośala, provided Khaṇḍa-dhāna with all necessaries when the latter left the world after hearing the preachings of Buddha. (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 19–20).

Pasenadi was famous for his charity. While Buddha was residing at Sāvatthī in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana, the king made gifts for a week on an immense scale, not to be compared with the charity practised by any body in his kingdom. These gifts were known as asadisadāna (incomparable charity) (Pīṭhavimāna, Vimānavatthu com., pp. 5–6).

Pasenadi of Kośala was convinced of the greatness of the Śākya teacher and it is said he knew that Gotama was excellent and that he had renounced the worldly life from

the Śākya family. The Śākyas were politically subordinate to Pasenadi of Kośala and they used to respect honour, and salute him. Buddha said, "The respect which Pasenadi receives from the Śākyas is shown by him towards me." Though Pasenadi was of the same age as Buddha, yet he used to show respect to Buddha out of consideration for his eminence as a great teacher (Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. III, pp. 83-84).

In the Saṁyutta Nikāya, we read that Pasenadi was told in reply by Buddha that lobha (avarice), dosa (hatred), and moha (delusion) themselves arise in a person and trouble him (Vol. I, p. 70). Again he was told by Buddha that he who is born must meet with decay and death (Ibid., p. 71), that self is an enemy to him who commits three kinds of sin (Ibid., pp. 71–77) that the self of one who commits three kinds of sin is unprotected (Ibid., p. 73). Buddha further told Pasenadi, "Those who are in possession of great wealth often become attached to the world" (Ibid., pp. 73–74). The king said thus, "Many rich brāhmaṇas and Khattiyas speak falsehood on account of kāma" (desire for sensual pleasures) (Ibid., p. 74). Pasenadi performed a great sacrifice in which 500 bulls, 500 calves, 500 goats, etc., were brought for sacrifice. Buddha when requested to attend, did not like this yajña, and he was against the taking away of life by slaughter (Ibid., p. 76) Pasenadi once paid a visit to Buddha. Then some jaṭilas, nigaṇṭhas, acelakas, paribbājakas were seen going at a distance from the Blessed One. Pasenadi saluted them and told Buddha that these people were arahats. Buddha said, "It is impossible to know one's character, purity, strength and wisdom by seeing him for a moment" (Ibid, pp. 78–79). Pasenadi used to take a pot of rice which was sufficient to hold sixteen

seers of rice (Ibid., p. 81). He reduced his meal to one nāti under Buddha's instructions (Ibid., p. 81-82).

Pasenadi had to fight with Ajātaśatru who was defeated and imprisoned. His four-fold army was defeated and captured by Pasenadi but ultimately Ajātaśatru was set free (Ibid., pp. 83-85). Pasenadi had a daughter born to him by Mallikā. At this news he became sorry but Buddha consoled him by saying that some women are better than men if they are virtuous and faithful to their husbands. Their sons would be brave (Ibid., p. 86). Pasenadi was taught that earnestness is the only virtue which gives happiness in the life as well as in after life (Ibid, pp. 86-87). Pasenadi was again told by Buddha that there are four kinds of puggala in this world. (Ibid, pp. 93 foll). He became very much afflicted with grief when his grandmother died, but he was consoled by Buddha (Ibid., p. 97).

The king of Kośala had an elephant named Bhaddaraka. It had great strength. (Ibid, pt. IV, p. 25). Some thieves were caught and brought before the king of Kośala. He ordered them to be bound in ropes and chains. They were thrown in prison. This information was given by the bhikkhus to Buddha who was asked whether there was any stronger tie than this. Buddha replied, "attachment to wives, sons, and wealth are stronger than other ties." (Dhammapada Commentary, pt. IV, pp. 54-55).

Buddha and the common people of Kośala.

The Saṁyutta Nikāya also supplies us with further information about Kośala. Buddha spent much of his time at Sāvatthī and most of his sermons were delivered there. From Kośala, Buddha went to the Mallas, Vajjis, Kāśis, and Magadhas (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. V, pp. 349 foll). Buddha delivered a sermon on self to the brāhmaṇa householders of a brāhmaṇa village in Kośala (Ibid., pp. 352 foll).

The story of the conversion of the Kośala country to the Buddhist faith is told in some detail in the Majjhima Nikāya. Here we read that in the course of his journey over Northern India, on one occasion the Blessed One was sojourning in Kośala and went to Sālā, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala. The brāhmaṇa householders of Sālā went to see him and asked him a question regarding the departure of beings to heaven and hell after death, and he answered it fully with reference to adhammacariyā (doing misdeeds) and visamacariyā (doing improper deeds) (Vol. I, pp. 285 foll). In the same village Buddha had a talk with the brāhmaṇa householders about faith in Buddha, nihilism, karma, non-existence of the consequence of kamma, kāya, vaci and manokammas, arūpaloka, cessation of existence, four kinds of puggala, four jhānas and the six abhiññās. Buddha explained them to their satisfaction and they became his life-long disciples. (M. N., Vol. I, pp. 400 foll). When Buddha was sojourning in Kośala, he smiled at a place a little away from the road. Ānanda asked him about the reason of his smile and he replied that formerly there was a rich town named Vebhaliṅga. Kassapa Buddha used to live there. Kassapa had his ārāma at the spot where Buddha smiled. In this ārāma Kassapa used to instruct the people. Ānanda prepared a seat for Buddha and requested him to sit on it so that the place might be sanctified by the two Buddhas. Buddha sat on the seat and narrated a long history of Kassapa Buddha and his disciples (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 45 foll).

When the Blessed One was at Kośala, he went once to Nagaravinda, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala. There many

brāhmaṇa householders used to live. They came to see Buddha attracted by the stories they had heard of his fame as a great teacher. They are told by Buddha that the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who were not free from passion, anger, and ignorance, whose mind was not tranquil and who did evil deeds by body, speech and mind, should not be respected by them. They should respect those who were free from the above mentioned vices. After listening to Buddha, the brāhmaṇa householders became converted to the new faith preached by him (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. III, pp. 290 foll).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya also furnishes information about the Kośala country. We have pointed out before that the Aṅguttara Nikāya speaks of Kośala as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa. It had abundance of seven kinds of gems, wealth, food and drink (Vol. I, p. 213; Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260).

When Buddha was sojourning in Kośala, once he went to Venāgapura, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala; the brāhmaṇa householders of the village went to pay their respects to him and had a talk with the great teacher regarding high and big comfortable beds. Buddha spoke of the three kings of bed (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 180 foll). The Aṅguttara Nikāya also repeats the story of the seat of Kassapa Buddha given in the Majjhima Nikāya. It narrates that at one time Buddha was sojourning in Kośala. He saw a Sāla forest and smiled there. He told that Kassapa Buddha's abode was at the place where he smiled (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 214–15).

On another occasion, he was sojourning in Kośala. He saw there fishermen selling fish after dividing it. With reference to this fact Buddha gave a discourse on the impurities of the body and the evil effect of selling fish and flesh. He said, "Those who trade in fish and flesh cannot be happy and wealthy" (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. III, pp. 301–303).

The Sutta Nipāta (P. T. S., pp. 79–86) tells us that when the Blessed One was dwelling in the Kośala country on the bank of a river, a brāhmaṇa named Sundarīka-Bhāradvāja performed fire-sacrifices. He then saw that Buddha went to him and put to him questions thus, "To which caste do you belong?" The Blessed One replied that he belonged to no caste. Bhāradvāja was afterwards convinced of the worthlessness of caste dinstinction and offered to Buddha food which the Blessed One did not accept. The ascetic Bhāradvāja was then converted and took refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha and got ordination from Buddha.

Again, in the same work, we read that a brāhmaṇa of Kośala named Bāvarī who was well-versed in mantras went from Kośala to Dakkhināpatha. There in the kingdom of Assaka, near Mūlaka, he built a hermitage on the bank of the river Godāvarī and used to live on alms. He used to earn much from the villagers living in villages by the side of his hermitage. He performed a big sacrifice and he spent all his accumulated wealth. After performing the act of charity he entered the hermitage and saw a brāhmaṇa who asked for 500 kahāpaṇas which he could not give and the brāhmaṇa cursed him. Both of them went to Buddha who was then in Kośala and put questions to him regarding head and breaking of it. Buddha replied, 'muddhā' means avijjā and 'vijjā' is the destroyer of 'muddhā'. The disciples of Bāvarī put several questions to Buddha which were dealt with in the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta and Buddha

answered them to their satisfaction (Sutta Nipāta, pp. 190–192).

Buddhists in Kośala.

The Vinaya Piṭaka points out that the bhikkhus of Kośala used to recite the Pātimokkha in an abridged form to avert imminent danger (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, p. 261).

Udena, a lay-devotee of Kośala had a vihāra built for the Saṁgha and dedicated it to the bhikkhus for their use (Ibid., p. 302). In the commentary on the Sutta Nipāta we read that a carpenter of Benares with his disciples worshipped Buddha's relics and observed the precepts and uposatha. In consequence of this, they were reborn in the devaloka or the region of the gods. Before the appearance of Gotama Buddha they fell from the devaloka and were reborn in Kośala. The carpenter was reborn in Kośala as the son of the chaplain of Pasenadi's father.

In Kośala, a cowherd named Nanda was rich and wealthy. He used to go to Anāthapiṇḍika's house from time to time taking with him five kinds of preparations from cow's milk. He invited Buddha who accepted the invitation. Nanda continued charities for a week. On the seventh day, Buddha delivered a sermon on dāna, sīla, etc. Nanda obtained the first stage of sanctification (Dhammapada Commentary, pt. I, pp. 322–323).

Aggidatta was the purohita or royal chaplain of Mahākośala, father of Pasenadi. Pasenadi also accepted him as his purohita. Aggidatta thinking that he might be shown disrespect by Pasenadi became a heretic. He held that one should take refuge in mountain, forest, ārāma (pleasure garden) and tree, and this refuge would lead to the removal

of all sufferings. Moggallāna converted Aggidatta with his disciples (Ibid., pt. III, pp. 241 foll).

North Kośala or the Śrāvastī country.

Kośala in later times came to be known as Śrāvastī in order to distinguish it from South Kośala. Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the seventh century A. D., says that Śrāvastī, *i. e.*, North Kośala was above 600 li in circuit. Although it was mostly in ruins yet there were some inhabitants. The country had good crops and an equal climate, and the people had honest ways and were given to learning. They were fond of good works. There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, most of which were in ruins. The brethren who were very few were Sammatiyas. There were a hundred deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. Close by there was a preaching hall built by Pasenadi for Buddha. There were topes (Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 377). Further, the pilgrim records that there were many Buddhist monasteries and many brethren were Mahāyānists. There were Tīrthikas (heretics) whom Buddha had vanquished by his supernatural powers (Ibid., Vol. II, p. 200).

Education.

From the accounts we have got in Buddhist literature about the Kośala kings and princes we observe that the Kośalan kings and princes received good education. In the Brahāchatta Jātaka we read that a son of the king of Kośala named Chatta fled to Taxila when his father was taken prisoner and there he mastered the three Vedas and eighteen vijjās. We are told that at Taxila he learnt the Nidhiuddharaṇamantram or the science of discovering hidden treasure of his deceased father and with the money thus acquired he engaged troops and reconquered the lost king-

dom of his father (Jātaka, Vol. III, pp. 115-116). We have also seen before in the accounts of Kośala in the Nikāyas, that some Kośala princes received their education at Taxila.

Kośala dialect.

T. W. Rhys Davids points out that a conversational dialect based probably on the local dialect of Sāvatthī the capital of Kośala, was in general use among Kośala officials, among merchants and among the more cultured classes, not only throughout the Kośala dominions but east and west from Delhi to Patna, and north and south from Sāvatthī to Avanti (Buddhist India, p. 153). Prof. Jacobi points out that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed in Kośala on the basis of ballads popularly recited by rhapsodists throughout that district. But the very centre of the literary activity of the Buddhists was Kośala (Ibid, p. 183).

Brahmanic influence.

Dr. Keith is right in pointing out that the brahmanical civilization doubtless centred in the region of Kurukṣetra or the middle country especially among the Kuru-Pañcālas, but it spread beyond these limits to the land of the Kośalas and Videhas as well as to even more remote regions (Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 9-10). It must be admitted that although the extension of Brahmanism from the land of the Kurus and Pañcālas to Kośala was comparatively late, the Aryan occupation of the country went back to an earlier period (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 308-309).

Spirit-belief of the Kośalans.

From the discussions held by the Kośalans with Buddha and the stories related about them in the Petavatthu and its commentary, it is evident that the Kośalans believed in the existence of soul after death. They had the notion that people had to suffer tortures after death in consequence of

the sinful deeds done by them while on earth. The Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu records many instances which go to show how people of Kośala underwent various torments after death in consequence of the sinful deeds done while alive. For example, we are told (in pp. 261-63) that the two sons of a king of Kośala who were handsome in their youth committed adultery. They were reborn as petas (spirits) residing on the moat surrounding Kośala and used to make terrible noise at night. (See also the stories of Kumārapeta, Pañcaputtakhādakapeta, Akkharukkhapeta, Goṇapeta, in my work, 'The Buddhist Conception of Spirits').

Matrimonial alliances with neighbouring powers.

Once Dīghāvu, prince of Kośala, found the king of Benares lying in a forest. He captured the king who murdered his parents. But remembering the advice of his parents, he simply frightened the helpless king who appealed to him and the prince after being assured that there would in future be no dissension or anything of the like nature, forgave the king. The king swore an oath and gave his daughter in marriage to the prince and established him in the kingdom that belonged to his father (Jātaka, III, pp. 139-140). Mahākośala, father of king Pasenadi of Kośala, married his daughter Kośalā to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and gave her a village in Kāśī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money (Jātakas, II, p. 164; Ibid, IV, p. 216). Pasenadi of Kośala took Ajātasattu prisoner and afterwards gave him his own daughter Vajirā in marriage. (Jātaka Cowell, Vol. IV, p. 216-217). Vajirā was given the village of Kāśī which was for a long time the bone of contention between the two families. (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 77). Thus we see that the royal houses of Kāśī, Kośala, and Magadha were interrelated through matrimony.

In Kośala the form of government was monarchical (Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. I, p. 131; cf. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 114). The inhabitants of Sāvatthī, the capital of Kośala, used to assemble together and form a gaṇa or guild (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 40).

Constitution.

It is interesting to note as the 'Cambridge History of India' (I, p. 190) points out that India appeared as a number of kingdoms and republics with a constant tendency towards amalgamation.

Expansion of Kośala.

This process had proceeded further in Kośala than elsewhere; the great kingdom of Kośala was by far the most important State in northern India in the sixth century B. C.

The first important State to be absorbed by Kośala was Kāśī. The kings of Kāśī and Kośala were from the beginning constantly at war with each other. In one of the Jātaka stories an account is given of the constant warfare carried on between these two neighbouring monarchies. Sometimes victory lay with one side and sometimes with the other. At times they were evidently united, most probably by conquest as is shown by the phrase Kāśī-Kośala in Vedic literature. We read in a Jātaka story that once the king of Benares marched against the king of Kośala, killed the king and carried off his queen to make her his own wife. When the king was killed, his son escaped and shortly afterwards he collected a mighty force and came to Benares with the object of fighting with its reigning king. Information was sent to the king of Benares to this effect. The king of Benares was ready for the fight. But the mother of the

Kośala and Kāśī.

young prince sent words to her son advising him not to fight but to blockade the city so that people would be worn out for want of food and water. The young prince did so. The citizens could not bear starvation and on the seventh day they beheaded their king and brought his head to the prince of Kośala. The prince entered the city and made himself king (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 243).

Again, in another Jātaka story we read that on the death of his father, Prince Goodness ascended the throne of Benares. One of his ministers committed sin in his harem. The king came to know of this, found the minister guilty and drove him out of his kingdom. Thus driven, the minister came to the king of Kośala and became his confidential adviser. The minister requested the Kośalan king to attack the kingdom of Benares because the king of that country was very weak. Thus advised the Kośalan king twice sent his men to massacre the villagers of Benares and they came back with presents. At last the king of Kośala, determined to attack the kingdom of Kāśī, set out with his troops and elephants. The king of Benares had gallant warriors who were ready to resist the march of the Kośalan king but they were not permitted to do so. The king of Kośala asked pardon from the king of Kāśī and gave back the kingdom of Kāśī which he took. The Kośalan king punished the slanderous traitor and went back to his kingdom with his troops and elephants. (Jātaka, Vol. I, pp. 128-133).

Further, we read in the same work that once the king of Benares was seized by Dabbasena, king of Kośala and was fastened by a cord and hung with head downwards. The king of Benares, however, did not entertain any malicious feeling towards the rebel prince, and by a process of complete absorption, entered upon a state of mystic meditation and

bursting his bonds sat cross-legged in the air. The rebel prince felt a burning sensation all over his body. The minister told the king that he was thus suffering for tormenting the king of Benares who was a holy man. At last Dabbasena begged pardon and restored his kingdom to the king of Benares (Cowell, Jātaka, III, p. 9–10).

The Jātakas further inform us that on one occasion the king of Benares attacked the Kośala country and took the king prisoner. There he set up royal officers as governors and himself having collected all the available treasure returned with his spoil to Benares. The king of Kośala had a son named Chatta who fled while his father was taken prisoner. He came to Taxila and educating himself went to a wood where he met some ascetics from whom he learnt all that the ascetics could teach him. Gradually the prince became the leader of the ascetics. He came to Benares with the ascetics and spent the night in the king's garden. The next morning the ascetics came to the door of the palace. The king saw them and was charmed with their depoitment. The king asked them to sit on the dais and put to them various questions. Chatta, the leader of the ascetics, answered them all and won the king's heart. The king asked him to stay in the garden with the ascetics. Chatta knew the spell by which he could find out where the hidden treasure was. He came to know that it was in the garden. He then introduced himself to the ascetics. Then Chatta with the ascetics fled to Sāvatthī with the hidden treasure. There he had all the king's officers seized, and recovering his kingdom, restored the walls and watch-towers. He made the city invincible against alien invasion and took his residence there (Cowell, Jātaka, III, pp. 76–78).

The Sonananda Jātaka records a fight between Manoja, king of Benares and a king of Kośala. Manoja pitched his

camp near the city of Kośala and sent message to the king asking him either to give battle or to surrender himself. The king was enraged and accepted the challenge. A fierce fight ensued. The king of Kośala was advised to submit to king Manoja of Benares. The king of Kośala agreed and was taken to Manoja who was thus entreated, "The king of Kośala submits to you, Sir, let the kingdom still belong to him." King Manoja assented. (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. V, pp. 166–167).

From the Jātaka stories of the two neighbouring countries of Kāśī and Kośala, it is evident that there was mutual jealousy between the two kingdoms, and a constant spirit of hostility actuated the rival royal houses. Each was looking out for an opportunity for inflicting a defeat on the other and of annexing either the whole or at least a part of the other's dominions. Sometimes they also appeared to have been connected by matrimony and it is probable that the two countries were united sometimes by conquest and sometimes perhaps by a common heir succeeding to the throne of both the countries.

Kośala and Magadha.

As we have already said that King Mahākośala, father of Pasenadi, married his daughter Kośaladevī to Bimbīsāra, king of Magadha, and granted her a village of the Kāśī-country yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand as her nahāna-cuṇṇa-mūla, *i. e.*, bath and perfume money. When Ajātaśatru put his father Bimbisāra to death, Kośaladevī died of grief. For sometime after her death, Ajātaśatru continued to enjoy the revenues of the village, but Pasenadi, king of Kośala, resolved that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance, and so confiscated it. Thus there was a war between Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit

with the result that Ajātaśatru was at first victorious but he was afterwards taken prisoner by the Kośalan king and was bound in chains Thus punished for some days he was released and was advised not to do so in future. By way of consolation he was given by the Kośalan king his own daughter Vajirā in marriage. He was afterwards dismissed with great pomp (Car. Lec., 1918, pp. 76–77; and Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. IV, pp. 216–217).

Annexation of Kośala by Magadha.

Dr. Bhandarkar points out that some parts of Kośala were annexed to the kingdom of Magadha during the reign of Ajātaśatru (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 79).

We have already seen that Ajātaśatru married a princess of Kośala. His mother was a lady of the famous Licchavi tribe. He waged successful wars against both the Licchavis and his consort's kingdom. Kośala disappears from history as an independent kingdom and evidently was absorbed by Magadha. (Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 46).

Kośala and Śākyas.

In the north the Kośala country bordered on the region occupied by the Śākyas and there were mutual jealousies between the two peoples that often developed into war. Thus we are told that the Śākyas became the vassals of king Pasenadi of Kośala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated the Buddha (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 80).

Capital cities.

The capital cities of Kośala were Sāvatthī and Sāketa. Many fanciful theories have been started to explain the name Sāvatthī. According to one view Sāvatthī is so called because it was resided in by the sage Sāvattha. In the Papañcasūdanī the commentator holds that everything required by human beings is to be found there, hence it is called sabba+atthi=Sāvatthī. In answer to a question by some merchants as to what the place contained, it was told 'Sabbam atthi' (there is everything). Hence it is called Sāvatthī. (Papañcasūdanī, I, pp. 59–60).

Śrāvastī in the Purāṇas.

According to the Purāṇas, Śrāvastī is said to have been built by king Śrāvasta, eighth in descent from Vivaksu, son of Iksvāku (Viṣṇu purāṇa, Ch. 2, Amśa 4; cf. Bhāgavata-purāṇa, 9th skandha, ch. 6, śl. 21). Again in the Matsya-purāṇa, we read that king Śrāvasta of the Kakutstha family built in the Gauḍa country a city named Śrāvasta (Ch. 21, śl. 30; Kūrma-purāṇa, Ch. 23, śl. 19; Liṅga-purāṇa, ch. 95). Sāvatthī was situated in what is now the province of Oudh (Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p. 290). It is now known beyond all doubt as Maheṭh of the village group Saheṭh-Maheṭh on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces (Carmichæl Lectures, 1918, p. 51).

Sāvatthī in the Buddhist literature.

The Pāli Buddhist literature is full of facts regarding Sāvatthī and her glories. Many of the most edifying discourses were delivered by the Buddha at the Kośala capital which was the place of residence of two of the most munificent donors of the Buddhist Saṁgha, *viz.*, Anāthapiṇḍika, the great merchant and Visākhā Migāramātā, the most liberal-hearted of the ladies about whom the Buddhist literature holds any record. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, tells us that Sāvatthī is mentioned as a great city. It was the resort of many wealthy nobles, brāhmins, heads of houses and believers in the Tathāgata (Buddhist Suttas, S. B. E., p. 99). In one of

the Jātakas we read that there was at Sāvatthī a rich merchant who was worth eighteen crores (Cowell, Jātaka, vol. VI, p. 38). We learn from a Jātaka that at Sāvatthī, in the house of Anāthapiṇḍika, food was always ready for 500 brethren and the same thing is told about Visākhā and the king of Kośala (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. IV. p. 91). A generous donor dwelt at Sāvatthī. The Buddha was invited by him and for seven days the donor gave many gifts to the company of the bhikkhus who came with him. The bhikkhus were given all the necessary things (Jātaka, Vol. IV, pp. 148–49).

The Nikāyas contain abundant references to Sāvatthī. The Majjhima Nikāya informs us that the Buddha was once living at Jetavana in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika. He delivered a sermon on bāla (the foolish) and paṇḍita (the learned) to the bhikkhus (Majjhima Nikāya, III, pp. 163 foll). We are further informed by the same work that Mahāpajāpati Gotamī with five hundred bhikkhuṇis went to him and requested him to give religious instructions to the bhikkhuṇīs. Nandaka at first refused to instruct them but he was afterwards asked by the Buddha to do so. He instructed them on impermanence, sorrowfulness and selflessness of five sense-organs. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. III, pp. 270 foll.).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya points out that the Revered Nandaka was dwelling at Sāvatthī in Pubbārāma, the palace of Migāramātā. Salla, grandson of Migārasetthi, and Rohana, grandson of Pekuṇiyaseṭṭhi, went to Nandaka and enquired of the true religion from him. Nandaka replied that one should not believe in that which is handed from generation to generation and in that which is written in piṭaka, logic, etc., and he further said, "one who is free from avarice, hatred, delusion and all kinds of vices, follows

the true religion." (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 193 foll). We learn from the Saṁyutta Nikāya that Sāvatthī was often visited by the Buddha who while he was there, spoke of the following topics, *viz.*, seven bojjhaṅgas (means of obtaining bodhi) (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. V, p. 98), cakkavattī (Ibid, V, p. 99), fools (Ibid, p. 99), ādicca (Ibid, p. 101), food as an obstacle to a bhikkhu (Ibid, pp. 102–103), food as a help for obtaining bodhi (Ibid, pp. 103–104), mettā (Ibid, p. 115), samādhi (Ibid, pt. III, p. 13), impermanence of five khandhas, sorrowfulness and selflessness (Ibid, pp. 21–22), cause of five khandhas (Ibid, p. 23), cessation of five khandhas (Ibid, p. 24), dhammas to be known (Ibid, p. 26), sammāsambuddha (Ibid, pp. 65–66), Māra (Ibid, p. 18), satta (Ibid, p. 190), Māradhamma (Ibid, p. 195), eternity of the world (Ibid, p. 213), non-eternity of the world (Ibid, p. 214), finiteness of the world (Ibid, p. 214), infinity of the world (Ibid, p. 215), dependent origination (Ibid, p. 1), four kinds of food (Ibid, p. 11), dasabala (ten potentialities) (Ibid, p. 27).

The Buddha delivered a sermon to Anāthapiṇḍika about the ariyasāvakas (noble disciples of the Buddha) who are free from the evil effect of killing, stealing, lieing, enjoying sensual pleasures and drinking intoxicants (Ibid, pp. 6–69). At Jetavana,[1] in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika, Buddha also

1. It is so called because the garden was made, protected and looked after by prince Jeta. Sudatta, a very rich householder of Sāvatthī, was called Anāthapiṇḍika because he always used to give piṇḍa (food) to helpless. Anāthapiṇḍika bought the garden from Jeta for 18 koṭis of gold coins. Another 18 koṭis of gold coins were spent in the ceremony of offering the vihāra to the Buddha and his disciples (Khuddakapāṭha Commy., pp. 110–112).

gave a discourse on two kinds of fault (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 47 foll). Once when the Buddha with Sāriputta and others was at Sāvatthī, the venerable Saviṭṭha and Mahākoṭṭhita went to Sāriputta who held a discourse on three kinds of puggalas (Ibid, p. 118 foll). Buddha discoursed on three kinds of sick person (Ibid, p. 120 foll). Buddha while at the palace of Migāramātā gave a discourse to Visākhā on three kinds of uposatha (sabbath) and further he spoke about the longevity of gods (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 205 foll).

Not only the Buddha but Sāriputta also is said to have delivered a discourse on external and internal ties at the palace of Migāramātā near Sāvatthī (Ibid, p. 63 foll). Channa paribbājaka went to Ānanda who was at Sāvatthī. The subject of discussion between them was the cessation of rāga (passion), dosa (hatred), and moha (delusion) (Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, pp. 215 foll).

Rohita devaputta came to the Buddha at Sāvatthī. The topic of discussion was about the place where one is not subject to birth and death. (A. N., II, pp. 47 foll).

Buddha while at Sāvatthī gave a discourse on four kinds of clouds. (A. N., II, p. 102).

Buddha was at the palace of Migāramātā near Sāvatthī. He spoke of four kinds of bhikkhus, *e. g.*, Devapattā (who are like devas), Brahmapattā (who are like Brahmās), Anejjapattā (who are like four kinds of arūpa gods) and Ariyappattā (who are like ariyas) (A. N., II, pp. 183-184).

Mallikādevī questioned the Buddha at Jetavana near Sāvatthī about poor, wretched and ugly-looking women, rich but ugly-looking women, beautiful but wretched and poor women and wealthy and beautiful women. The Buddha gave a suitable reply (A. N., II, pp. 202 foll).

Buddha dwelt at Jetavana near Sāvatthī. Princess Sumanā with 500 princesses went to the Buddha and questioned him about the fate of two of Buddha's disciples, one of whom was charitable, and another was stingy, after death. Buddha gave a suitable reply (A. N., III, pp. 32 foll).

Buddha instructed Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvatthī about the utility of wealth (A. N., III, pp. 45-46). Buddha while in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvatthī, spoke about the difficulty in obtaining longevity, beauty, happiness, fame and heaven. (A. N., III, pp. 47-48). After the death of Mallikā, Pasenadi went to the Buddha at Jetavana. He consoled him as he was very much afflicted with grief (A. N., III, p. 57). Buddha spoke of the five nīvaraṇas (obstacles) (A. N., III, pp. 63-64). Buddha while at Jetavana spoke of the five precepts (sīlas) to the bhikkhus (A. N., III, p. 203). Buddha said, "Those who have restrained their five sense-organs are worthy of respect, honour and offering" (A. N., III, p. 279). Buddha gave a discourse on dāna (charity) (A. N., III, p. 336). When Buddha was in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika, the great yajña of Uggatasarira brahmin was being performed. Five hundred bulls, five hundred calves, five hundred goats, etc., were brought for sacrifice. The brahmin informed the Buddha thus, "If sacrifice be offered to the fire and if sacrificial wood is raised by anybody, he will get much merit." The Buddha said, "If one gives up fire of passion, anger, and ignorance, he will accumulate the greatest merit." He spoke of another three kinds of fire which one should honour and worship (A. N., IV, pp. 41 foll). He went to Anāthapiṇḍika's house and gave instructions to Anāthpiṇḍika's daughter-in-law, Sujātā, on seven kinds of wives. (A. N., IV, pp. 91 foll). He delivered a sermon to the Bhikkhus on the good effect of

developing mettā (A. N., IV, pp. 150-151). He spoke about the importance and merit of observing uposatha consisting of eight aṅgas or precepts (A. N., IV. pp. 248 foll). He told Visākhā Migāramātā at Sāvatthī thus, "A woman endowed with eight qualities, *e. g.*, obedience to her husband etc., is reborn after death among the manāpakāyika gods." (Ibid, p. 267). He said to Vaisākhā, "A woman having four qualities may conquer this world, *e. g.*, clever in household duties, capable of satisfying husband and capable of protecting the husband's earnings" (A. N., IV, pp. 269 foll).

Buddha said to Anāthapiṇḍika who was then very poor when he was there thus, "Do you offer charity at home?" He replied, "Yes, but very little and very poor." He said, "You need not be sorrowful. If you offer it with true heart, it will no doubt get you much more merit than the offering of big charities given without sincerity." (A. N., IV, pp. 392 foll). Buddha was met by Pasenadi at Sāvatthī, who came to see him immediately after returning victorious from the battle-field. The king fell at the feet of the Buddha and kissed them. He spoke much of the qualities of the Buddha (A. N., V, pp. 65 foll). Buddha told the bhikkhus that they should be devoted to the precepts, observers of all the precepts given in the Pātimokkha. They must fear even the minutest sin. (A. N., V, pp. 131-32). Buddha spoke to Anāthapiṇḍika about ten kinds of enjoyers of sensual pleasures. (A. N., V, pp. 176 foll).

Anāthapiṇḍika went to an ārāma of heretics where they were making great noise but they all became quiet seeing him coming. (A. N., V, pp. 185 foll).

Again while the Buddha was at Sāvatthī, many bhikkhus of different places went to him to learn kammaṭṭhāna (objects of meditation). Buddha taught them kammaṭṭhāna suitable to their nature. Five hundred bhikkhus learnt kammaṭṭhāna from him and went to a forest by the side of the Himālayās to practise kammaṭṭhāna. The tree deities of the place became frightened at seeing them there and tried to drive them out in various ways. The bhikkhus being troubled by them went to the Buddha and related everything to him. The Buddha said that they cherished no friendly feelings (mettâ) towards the deities. The Buddha taught them mettâ-suttaṁ and told them to practise it. Afterwards the deities became their friends (Khuddakapâṭha-Commentary, pp. 231 foll).

From the above it is evident that the Buddha used to discuss miscellaneous matters dealing with the principles and philosophy of his new faith while he was at Sâvatthī.

Mahâsuvaṇṇa, a banker of Sâvatthī, had two sons, the first son became a bhikkhu under the Buddha and was known as Cakkhupâla (Dhammapada Commentary, pp. 3 foll). Maṭṭhakuṇḍali was the son of a rich and stingy brahmin of Sâvatthī. Only by saluting the Buddha, he went to heaven (Ibid, pp. 25 foll).

Thullatissa was the Buddha's father's sister's son and lived at Sâvatthī as a bhikkhu. He was pacified by the Buddha (Ibid, pp. 37 foll).

Kâliyakkhinī was a yakkhinī worshipped by the people of Sâvatthī. She could foretell drought and excessive rainfall (Ibid, pp. 45 foll).

Sâvatthī contributed a fair number of the Bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇīs who acquired fame and renown in the Buddhist congregation for the purity of their lives. Paṭâcâra was the daughter of a rich banker of Sâvatthī. She afterwards became a bhikkhuṇī after great bereavements and

came to be known as Paṭâcâra (Ibid, II, pp. 260 foll). Kisâgotamī was the daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sâvatthī. After the death of her only child, she went to the Buddha with the dead body and requested him to bring the dead to life. The Buddha delivered a sermon which led her to become a bhikkhuṇī. (Ibid, II, pp. 270 foll). Anittigandhakumâra fallen from the Brahmaloka was reborn in a rich family of Sâvatthī. He used to cry when touched by women. He was afterwards converted by the Buddha (Ibid, III, pp. 281 foll). Vakkali born in a brahmin family of Sâvatthī became a bhikkhu seeing the beauty of the Buddha's body (Ibid, IV, p. 118). A servant of a brāhmin of Sāvatthī became a bhikkhu and subsequently attained arahatship. (Ibid, IV, p. 167). Nanda was the son of Mahâpajâpati Gotamī. He was made a bhikkhu by the Buddha at Sâvatthī. (Ibid, pp. 115 foll). The Theragâthâ informs us that thera Kaṅkhâ-revata came of a wealthy family of Sâvatthī. He heard the Master's teachings, believed them and entered the order. He attained arahatship by practising Jhâna. The Buddha declared him as the chief of the bhikkhus. (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 7). Vīra was born in the family of a minister to king Pasenadi at Sâvatthī. He became a warrior. He married with his parents' consent. A few days after, the world (saṃsâra) appeared to him troublesome. He left the world in anguish and soon acquired six-fold abhiññâ (super-natural knowledge) (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 13–14). Khanda-dhâna, an inhabitant of Sâvatthī, learnt the Vedas by heart. When advanced in years, he heard the Master preach and left the world. He was provided with all the necessaries of life by King Pasenadi (Ibid, pp. 19–20). Ajita, a Sâvatthian, became an ascetic and a follower of Bâvari. He became very much satisfied with the Master's teachings and entered the Order. He afterwards became an arahat.

(Ibid, p. 25). In the Therīgâthâ we read that Sumanâ was born at Sâvatthī as the sister of the king of Kośala. She heard the Master preach the doctrine to king Pasenadi. She put faith in the Buddha and was established in the Refuges and Precepts. She heard the Master teaching in a vihâra. She entered the Order and afterwards became an arahat. (Psalms of the Sisters, pp. 19–20).

Such instances are many in the Thera and Therīgâthâs. They go to show that the teachings of the Buddha produced a marvellous effect on the people of Sâvatthī. Many Sâvat-thians, male and female, were delighted to hear his doctrine and embraced Buddhism.

In the Sutta Nipâta we read that when the Blessed One was at Sâvatthī, a bhikkhu named Kokâliya went to the Buddha and complained against Sâriputta and Moggallâna bringing a charge against them that they harboured evil intention against him. The Buddha said that Sâriputta and Moggallāna were good. He was asked by the Buddha not to say so. As soon as he left the Buddha, boils appeared on his body and he died suffering from the boils. He had to suffer in hell. (Sutta Nipāta, pp. 123–131). In the Brāh-maṇadharmika Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta we read that when the Blessed One was dwelling in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana, many old and wealthy brāhmaṇas of Kośala went to see him and asked him thus, "Oh Venerable Gautama, are the Brāhmaṇas now engaged in observing the brahmani-cal custom of the ancient brāhmaṇas?" The Blessed One replied in the negative. The Brāhmaṇas then requested Gautama to tell them the brahmanical custom of the ancient brāhmaṇas. The Blessed One said that the old sages were self-restrained, penitent and they studied their own welfare, having abandoned the objects of the five senses. The brāh-

maṇas had no cattle, nor gold nor corn. But the repetition of mantras was their best treasure. They were protected by dharma, invincible and inviolable. They practised brahmachariya from infancy for forty years. They did not marry a woman belonging to another caste nor did they buy a wife. They practised chastity and virtue, rectitude, mildness, penance, tenderness, compassion, and patience. They used to perform religious ceremonies with alms which they used to get while begging. They did not kill cows even in sacrifice. They used to treat the cows as they used to treat their parents and other relatives. The king instructed by the brāhmaṇas performed Aśvamedha, Purisamedha and other sacrifices, without any hindrances and then he gave wealth to the brahmins. Then the brahmins began to kill cows for sacrifices, the dharma was lost; there arose different castes, suddas, vessikas, and khattiyas; the wife despised her husband. The khattiyas and brāhmaṇas indulged themselves in sensual pleasures. Thus the Kośalan brahmins having listened to the custom of the ancient brāhmaṇas from the Blessed One became very much pleased with him and took refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha. (Sutta Nipāta, P. T. S., pp. 50-55). From the above account it is evident that the Buddha was well acquainted with Brahmanism and the ancient customs of the Brahmins. In the Sutta Nipāta commentary we read that there lived at Sâvatthī a paribbâjaka named Pasura who was a great disputant. He planted a branch of a Jambu tree declaring that he who would be able to hold discussion with him would uproot it. Sāriputta did uproot it. Pasura had a discussion with Sāriputta about sensual pleasures and eye-consciousness with the result that the paribbājaka was defeated. The paribbājaka went to the Jetavana in order to be ordained by Sāriputta and to learn Vādasattam (*i. e.*, art of disputation). He met Lāludāyī at the Jetavanavihāra. Thinking that this Lāludāyī must be greatly wise, he took ordination from him. He defeated Lāludāyī in disputation and made him a paribbājaka even while he was wearing the dress of a bhikkhu. Pasura again went to Sāvatthī to hold discussion with Gautama. He held discussion with Gautama but he was defeated. The Buddha then gave him instruction and he was converted into Buddhism. (Sutta Nipāta Commentary, II, pp. 538 foll).

Kośalans charitable.

In the Vimānavatthu we read that the Kośalans and specially the Sāvatthians were remarkable for their charity which, they believed, was one of the many principal ways of acquiring heavenly bliss.

Again we hear that when Buddha was at Sāvatthī, there was a woman who was very faithful and obedient to her husband. She had patience and was not subject to anger, never used harsh words even when she was irritated, was truthful, and faithful and had faith in Buddha. She used to make offerings according to her means. After death she was reborn in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven and enjoyed heavenly bliss (Patibbatāvimāna, V. Com., pp. 56-57). Again in the Suṇisāvimāna we read that at Sāvatthī an arahat went to a house for alms. The daughter-in-law of the family, seeing the arahat, was filled with joy and ardour, and with great devotion offered some portion of the cakes which she had got for her own use. The thera accepted the offering and went away blessing her. In consequence of this religious merit she after death was reborn in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven (V. C., p. 61). There lived in the town of Kimbila a householder's son named Rohaka who was a believer in Buddha, and there was, in another family of equal status

in the same town, a mild and gentle girl who on account of her merits was called Bhaddā. Rohaka married the girl Bhaddā. One day two chief disciples of Buddha, in course of their tour, came to the town of Kimbila. Rohaka invited the two disciples with their followers, offered them good food, drink and various other things and with his wife he served them in every way and listening to their discourses embraced Buddhism and received the five sīlas (V. Com., pp. 109–110). When Buddha was at Jetavana in Sāvatthī there was at Nālakagāma a family of two daughters named Bhaddâ and Subhaddâ. Bhaddâ went to her husband's house. She was faithful and intelligent but barren. She requested her husband to marry her sister whose son, if born, would be like her own son and the family line would be continued thereby. Persuaded by her, the husband married Subhaddâ who was always instructed by Bhaddâ to offer charity, to observe the precepts and to perform other meritorious deeds diligently and in consequence of this she would be happy in this world and in the next. Subhaddâ acted according to her advice and one day she invited Revata. The thera, however, in order to secure comparatively great blessings for her, took it as an invitation to the Saṁgha and went to her house accompanied by eleven other bhikkhus and Subhaddâ offered good food and drink to them. The thera approved of her charity and as a result of feeding the Saṁgha, she, after death, was reborn in the Nimmânarati heaven (V. C., pp. 149–156).

The Dīgha Nikâya informs us that immediately after Buddha's parinibbâṇa, Ānanda was dwelling at Jetavana. Subha, son of Todeyya came to Sâvatthī on some business. Subha invited Ānanda who accepted the invitation. He had a talk with Ānanda about the dhammas preached by the Blessed One, e. g., ariyasīlakkhandha, ariya-samâdhi-

kkhandha and ariyapaññâkkhandha (Dīgha Nikâya, I, pp. 204 foll).

Commercial importance of Śrāvastī.

There were many merchants at Sâvatthī (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 26). Sâvatthian merchants used to go to Videha with cartloads of merchandise to sell their wares there. They used to take commodities from Videha. Some merchants of Sâvatthī went to Suvarṇabhumi in a ship (Ibid, p. 38). Again we read that some merchants of Sâvatthī went to the northern regions (Uttarâpatha) taking with them five hundred cartloads of merchandise (Ibid, p. 76).

Chinese travellers.

Sāvatthī was visited by the two famous Chinese pilgrims, Fā-Hien and Hiuen Tsang, but the glories of the once splendid capital of Kośala had departed at the time of their visit. When Fā-Hien who visited India in the fourth century A. D., went to Śrāvastī, the inhabitants of the city were few amounting in all to a few more than two hundred families. The pilgrim refers to Prasenajit of Kośala, and saw the place where the old vihāra of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī was built, the wells and walls of the house of Anāthapiṇḍika, and the site where Aṅgulimāla attained arahatship. Topes were built in all these places. Envious brāhmaṇas who cherished bitter hatred in their heart, wished to destroy them but in vain (Legge, Travels of Fā-Hien, pp. 55-56).

Anāthapiṇḍika built a vihāra at Sāvatthī famous as Jetavanavihāra which was originally of seven storeys. This vihāra was dedicated to Buddha and the Buddhist Church by Prince Jeta (Ibid, pp. 56–57).

History of Sāvatthī.

Cunningham points out on the authority of Hiuen Tsang that five centuries after Buddha or one century after Kaniṣka, Vikramāditya, king of Śrāvastī, became a persecutor of the Buddhists, and the famous Manorhita, author of the Vibhāsaśāstra, being worsted in argument by the brāhmaṇas, put himself to death. During the reign of his successor, the brāhmaṇas were overcome by Vasubandhu, the eminent disciple of Manorhita. In the third century A. D. Śrāvastī seems to have been under the rule of its own kings as we find Khīradhāra and his nephew mentioned as rājās between A. D. 275 and 319. Still later Śrāvastī was only a dependency of the powerful Gupta dynasty of Magadha as the neighbouring city of Sāketa is especially said to have belonged to them. From this time Śrâvastī gradually declined. In A. D. 400 it contained a few families and in A. D. 600 it was completely deserted.

Sāketa.

Another important town of Kośala was Sâketa which was certainly the capital of Kośala in the period immediately preceding Buddha (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 51). The road from Sâketa to Sâvatthī was haunted by robbers who were dangerous to passers-by. Even the bhikkhus who had very little in their possession were robbed of their scanty belongings and sometimes killed by the robbers. Royal soldiers used to come to the spot where robbery was committed, and used to kill those robbers whom they could arrest. (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, pp. 220–221).

Other towns of Kośala.

Besides Sâvatthī and Sâketa we find mention of other towns in the Kośala country, *e. g.*, Daṇḍakappaka, Nalakapâna, Setavya and Paṅkadhâ. Once Buddha went to Daṇḍakappa, a town of Kośala. He gave a discourse to Ānanda

on Devadatta's fall into the Avīci Hell (Aṅguttara Nikâya, Vol. III, pp. 402 foll). Buddha once visited Nalakapâna, a town of Kośala. There he dwelt at Palâsavana. He gave religious instructions to the bhikkhus on an uposatha night. After giving a long discourse, he requested Sâriputta to continue it (A. N., IV, pp. 122 foll). Once Kumârakassapa with a large number of bhikkhus went to Setavya. Pâyâsi was the chief at the place. He enjoyed enormous wealth given by Pasenadi, king of Kośala. He was a false believer but his false belief was dispelled by Kumârakassapa. Many brâhmaṇa householders together with Pâyâsi went to Kumârakassapa and held discussions with him about the next world, beings not born in mother's womb, and the result of good and bad kammas (D. N., II, pp. 316 foll).

Buddha went to Paṅkadhā, a town of Kośala. Kassapagotta, a bhikkhu, was dwelling there. Buddha gave him instructions about precepts but he did not like his instructions (A. N., Vol. I, p. 236).

In the Saṁyutta Nikâya (Vol. IV, pp. 374 foll), we find the mention of a village named Toranavatthu, a village between Sâvatthī and Sâketa. In this village, Khemâ bhikkhuṇī observed the lent; and here Pasenadi, on his way from Sâketa to Sâvatthī, spent one night. He was informed of Khemâ bhikkhuṇī. He went to her and put to her questions regarding life after death and she answered them to the king's satisfaction (S. N., Vol. IV, pp. 374 foll).

CHAPTER III

THE AŚMAKAS OR ASSAKAS

The name of the tribe.

The Aśmakas or Assakas formed one of the Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India. They are not mentioned in the Vedic literature, but we find them referred to in the Epics and the Purâṇas. In the enumeration of the countries in Bhâratavarṣa, the land of the Aśmakas is mentioned along with those of the most prominent Kṣatriya peoples of ancient India, *viz.*, the Kurus, Śūrasenas, etc. (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 9, p. 822). In the different recensions of the Mabâbhârata, the name is spelt in different ways, *viz.*, Aśvaka or Aśmaka. In Buddhist literature the name is Assaka, which, as Prof. Rhys Davids points out, may be the vernacular equivalent of either Aśmaka or Aśvaka. The Professor observes, "The name of the tribe is ambiguous. Sanskrit authors speak both of Aśmaka and Aśvaka. Each of these would be Assaka, both in the local vernacular and in Pâli. Either there were two distinct tribes so called, or the Sanskrit form Aśvaka is a wrong reading or a blunder in the Sanskritisation of Assaka."[1] The Greek writers mention a people called the *Assakenoi* in eastern Afghanistan and the Khonar valley, with their chief town at Massaga or Maśakâvatī. It is difficult to say whether they were identical with our Aśmakas.

1. Buddhist India, p. 28.

Aśmakas in the Great Epic and Pāṇini.

In the Great Epic there is some confusion between the Aśmakas and the Aśvakas; some of the passages appear to contradict one another. In the Jayadrathavadhaparvâdhyâya, the Aśmakas are found ranged on the Pāṇḍava side (VII. 85,3049); on the other hand, an Aśmakadâyâda, or a son of the Aśmaka monarch, is said to have been killed in battle by Abhimanyu (VII. 37, 1605); and the same person is also referred to as *Aśmakasya suta* in the verse immediately following (VII. 37,1606). An Aśmakeśvara is also spoken of here (VII. 1608). In a list of the tribes conquered by Karṇa, the Aśmakas are mentioned along with the Vatsas, Kaliṅgas, Ṛsikas, etc. (VIII. 8,237). In the Ādiparva, a Râjarṣi Aśmaka, the son of Vaśiṣṭha and Madayantī the wife of Kalmâsapâda, is mentiond, and the story of his birth, which we shall speak of in great detail hereafter is referred to. (I. 122,4737). The same king who is called a Vâśiṣṭha is said to have founded Paudanya (I. 177,6791). Pâṇini mentions Aśmaka in one of his sūtras (IV. 1,173),

Aśmaka or Assaka in Buddhist literature.

The Aṅguttara Nikāya,[1] like the Purāṇas,[2] tells us that Assaka was one of the sixteen mahâjanapadas of Jambudīpa. It had abundance of food and gems. It was wealthy and prosperous. From the Mahāgovinda Suttanta we learn that Potana was the city of the Assakas.[3] It was undoubtedly the capital city

1. Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, p. 213, *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 252, 256 and 260.

2. Padmapurāṇa, Svargakhaṇḍa, Ch. III; Viṣṇudharmottaramahāpurāṇa, Ch. IX.

3. Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, p. 270.

as King Brahmadatta reigned there. Asaṅga in his Sūtrālaṅkāra mentions an Aśmaka country in the basin of the Indus. From this reference it would appear that there was an Assaka country in northern India, but in Buddhist literature we also read of a southern Aśmaka country. Thus one of the oldest works of the Pāli Buddhist literature, the Sutta-Nipāta (verses 976-7) speaks of a Brāhman guru called Bāvarī, who having left the Kośala country, settled near a village on the Godāvarī in the Assaka territory in the Dakṣināpatha (D. R. Bhāndārkar, Carmichæl Lectures, 1918, p. 4). Again, in the Sutta Nipāta (verse 977) the Assaka or Aśmaka country has been associated with Muḷaka with its capital Patiṭṭhāna, and mentioned as situated immediately to the south of the latter but along the river Godāvarī, as Dr. Bhandarkar points out (Ibid. p. 53, n. 5). Evidently the Aśmakas, or at least an offshoot of the tribe, had settled in the south on the banks of the Godāvarī.

Dr. Rhys Davids points out that the country is mentioned with Avanti in the same way as Aṅga is with Magadha and its position on this list (the list of the sixteen Mahājanapads), between Śūrasena and Avanti, makes it probable that when the list was drawn up, its position was immediately north-west of Avanti. In that case the settlement on the Godāvarī was a later colony and this is confirmed by the fact that there is no mention of Potana (or Potali) there (Buddhist India, pp. 27-28).

Legendary origin.

We have already referred to the story of the origin of Aśmaka, the founder of the tribe, as mentioned in the Mahābhārata. But in the Great Epic there is a bare reference to the story which is fully narrated in the Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa. Once Sudāsa, who is often identified with the Great Ṛgvedic hero who won the battle of the ten kings, the great grandson of Ṛtuparṇa, the seventh in descent from Bhagīratha went to the forest for hunting. He killed a tiger. The dying tiger took the shape of a terrible monster and thought of wreaking vengeance on the king. An occasion soon presented itself. King Sudāsa performed a sacrifice. When Vaśiṣṭha, the king's priest, departed after performing the sacrifice, that monster assumed the form of Vaśiṣṭha and said to the king, "Feed me with meat to-day. Prepare it, I am coming back", and then went away. The monster once more changed his appearance and appeared before King Sudāsa in the guise of a cook. He cooked human flesh when ordered by the king to prepare a dish of meat for the great Ṛsi. The king waited for Vaśiṣṭha with the cooked meat on a golden plate. When the genuine Ṛsi Vaśiṣṭha came, Sudāsa offered him that meat. Vaśiṣṭha took him to be a very wicked king who could go so far as to offer him meat. Then he meditated and learnt that it was human flesh dressed up for him. He cursed the king, saying, "Knowing it to be human flesh you have offered it to me, so you will be a monster greedy of human flesh." King Sudāsa said that he had done so by his order. Vaśiṣṭha sat in meditation, learnt everything and said, "You will have to remain a monster only for twelve years and not for ever." The king was about to curse Vaśiṣṭha but Madayantī, his queen, entreated him to forbear and appeased his wrath. The king washed his feet with the curse-water. His legs turned black. Thenceforward he was famous as Kalmāṣapāda. Every third night the king took the shape of a rākṣasa and strolling about in the forest used to kill human beings. One night in spite of the requests of a Brāhmaṇī, he ate up her husband. The Brāhmaṇī cursed him, "You will die at the time of union with your wife." After the expiry of twelve years the king was freed from the curse of

Vaśiṣṭha. The king recollected the curse of the Brâhmaṇī and refrained from approaching the queen Madayantī. At his request Vaśiṣṭha caused the conception of the queen. Seven years elapsed but delivery did not take place. The Queen Madayantī struck the womb with an "aśma", or a piece of stone, and a son was born who was named Aśmaka. Aśmaka's son was Mūlaka. Having been saved by naked women who surrounded him, he was named Nârikavaca. His great grandson is said to have been Dilīpa, the forefather of the famous hero of the Râmâyaṇa. Thus a connection is established between the Ikṣvâkus and the Aśmakas (Bṛhnnâradīya Purâṇa, Ch. 9).

In the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa also Aśmaka is mentioned as the son of Sudâsa. It is probable, as we have suggested before, that the Assakas were an offshoot of one of the great Kṣatriya families of the early times.

The Matsya-Purâṇa (Ch. 272) gives us a list of twenty-five Aśmaka kings, contemporaries of the Śiśunâkas, who reigned in Magadha before the Nandas. Apparently, about this time the Aśmakas had risen into prominence and taken their place beside the royal dynasties of northern India.

Jātaka stories about Assaka kings.

One of the Jâtakas relates the following story about a king Assaka. In Potali, the capital of Assaka, there reigned a king Assaka. He had a queen of unique beauty. At her death, the king was overwhelmed with grief. At this time, the Bodhisatta dwelt at the foot of the Himālayas. With his heavenly vision he saw the king lamenting, and moved to pity; he came to a park where he met a young Brāhmin who told him that the king was lamenting the loss of his queen. The Bodhisatta said

that he could show the king his queen and even make her speak to him. The young Brahmin informed the king who hastened to the spot. The Bodhisatta showed him his queen who after death was leading the life of a tiny dung-worm. Upon the king making himself known to his whilom beloved queen, the dung-worm told him in human voice that she no longer loved the king; for dearer to her was the worm. The king was astonished. The Bodhisatta instructed him and left the place for the Himālayas (Cowell, Jātaka, Vol. II, pp. 108-110).

Another story of the Assaka country and its connection with Kāliṅga is narrated in the Jātakas. Assaka was the king of Potali in the Assaka country. At this time Kāliṅga was reigning in the city of Dantapura in the Kâliṅga kingdom. Kâliṅga had four daughters of surpassing beauty, whom he ordered to sit in a covered carriage to be driven to every village, town and royal city with an armed escort. Kâliṅga declared that if any king would be desirous of taking them into his harem, he would put up a fight with him. Passing through various countries, they reached Potali in the Assaka country. The gates were closed against them, but were opened by order of Nandisena, the able minister of the king of Assaka. The four princesses were brought to the king who was asked by his minister to make them his chief queens. Accordingly, these fair princesses were raised to the dignity of queen-consorts and a message was sent to Kâliṅga. King Kâlinga, on receipt of the message set out with a great army and halted within the limits of his own territory and Assaka also kept within his. A great battle was fought. Through the diplomacy of Nandisena, Assaka defeated Kâlinga who then fled to his own city. Assaka demanded from Kâliṅga a portion of the

dowry received by his daughters who were royal maidens. Kâliṅga sent a befitting portion of it for his daughters to Assaka. Thenceforth the two kings lived amicably (Cowell, Jâtaka, III, pp. 2-5). This story shows that the Assakas and the Kâliṅgas were neighbours and that their countries bordered on each other. Evidently, it is the southern Assaka country on the Godāvarī that is here referred to.

Story of the ordination of a prince of Assaka.

The Vimânavatthu commentary tells us a story of an Assaka king who was ordained by Mahâkaccâyana. In the kingdom of Assaka, there reigned a king named Assaka whose capital was at Potananagara. He promised to grant a boon to his younger wife. When his son named Sujâta by his first wife, was sixteen years of age, his younger wife reminded him of his promise and prayed that Sujâta should be banished and sent to a forest and her son should succeed him to the throne. The king was vacillating, but at last Sujâta was sent to a forest where he met Mahâkaccâyana in a hermitage. Being instructed by Mahâkaccâyana in Dhamma, he became a bhikkhu afterwards (Vimânavatthu Commentary, pp. 259 foll).

CHAPTER IV

THE MAGADHAS

Magadha in Vedic literature.

The Magadha people won a prominent position for themselves in very ancient times. Though they are not mentioned as such in the Ṛgveda yet in Vedic literature generally we have ample references to the Magadhas as a people. In the Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā, the Mâgadha is said to be connected with the Vrâtya as his Mitra, his Mantra, his laughter and his thunder in the four quarters. (Harvard Oriental Series, p. 774). In the Lâṭyâyana Śrauta Sūtra (VIII, 6, 28) which belongs to a school of the Sâmaveda Vrâtya-dhana or the property of the Vrâtya is directed to be given either to a bad Brahmin or to a Brahmin of Magadha (cf. Kâtyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XXII, 4, 22). But the Pañcaviṁsa Brâhmaṇa (XVII, 1, 16) which belongs to the Sâmaveda, is silent on this point. In the Āpastambha Śrauta Sūtra (XXII, 6, 18) the Magadhas are mentioned as a people along with other peoples of Eastern and Western India, *viz.*, the Kâliṅgas, the Gandhâras, the Pâraskaras and the Sauvīras. In the Taittirīya Brâhmaṇa we read that the people of Magadha were famous for their loud voice (III, 4, 1, 1). In the Sāṅkhyāyaṇa Āraṇyaka, Madhyama, son of Prātibodhi, was a resident of Magadha (Magadhavâsin) (Keith, Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, p. 46). In the Gautama Dharma Śāstra (IV, 17) the Māgadha is not a man of Magadha but is a member of a mixed caste produced by a Vaiśya marrying a Kṣatriya woman. The Manusaṁhitā also speaks of the same origin of the Māgadha (Jolly, X, 11). The Authors of the Vedic Index are certainly right in holding that the theory of mixed castes as given in some of the

law books, cannot be accepted when used to explain such obviously tribal names, as Māgadha. The fact that the Māgadha is often in later times a minstrel is easily accounted for by the assumption that the country was the home of minstrelsy and that wandering bards from Magadha were apt to visit the more western provinces of ancient India. This class, the later texts recognise as a caste, inventing an origin by intermarriage of the old established castes (Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 117). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (1, 4, 1, 10) tells us that neither Kośala nor Videha were fully brahmanised at an early date much less Magadha. The minstrel character of the Māgadhas also appears from the Mānava Dharmaśāstra which mentions them as bards and traders (Manusaṁhitā, X, 47).

The Rāmāyaṇa. Coming down to the Epic age, we find the Magadhas frequently mentioned there and much information about the country and the people as will appear from the passages that we have referred to below. First of all we take up the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Ādikāṇḍa (13th Sarga) of the Rāmāyaṇa we read that Vaśiṣṭha asked Sumantra to invite many pious kings including the Magadhan king who was well-versed in all the śāstras together with 1000 Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. It further tells us that Vasu the fourth son of Brahmā built Girivraja, the ancient capital of Magadha (32 Sarga, 6, 7). In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (śl. 37, 10th Sarga) we read that king Daśaratha tries to appease his irate queen Kaikeyī, thus, "I shall present you with articles manufactured in Magadha, please do not trouble yourself about the banishment of Rāma.

The Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa informs us that Sugrīva sent monkeys in quest of Sītā to all parts of India and even beyond its boundaries. He spoke of Magadha as one of the countries in the east. (48 Sarga, śl. 23).

The Mahābhārata. Jarāsandha is mentioned in the great Epic as a very great and powerful king of Magadha. It is said that in his former existence he was a chief of the demons and known as Vipracitti (Ādiparva, 67 chap., pp. 77–79).

The capital of Magadha at the time that Jarāsandha ruled over it, is said to have been situated at the great city of Girivraja which was well guarded by mountains on all sides. The Sabhāparva describes it as a city concealed in a forest decorated with sweet-scented flowers (Sabhāparva, ch. 21, pp. 235–236). Jarāsandha and after his death his son Sahadeva ruled Girivraja in the kingdom of Magadha. Girivraja was also known as Rājagṛha. After defeating Sumha and Prasumha, Bhīma reached Magadha in the course of his expedition of conquest. He proceeded towards Girivraja after defeating Daṇḍa and Daṇḍadhāra. Here at Girivraja he forced Sahadeva to pay taxes to him, and at the Rājasūya sacrifice Sahadeva went as one of the vassals of the Pāṇḍava monarchs (Sabhāparva, ch. 30, pp. 241–242). In the Kurukṣetra battle, Dhṛṣṭaketu, son of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha helped the Pāṇḍavas with the fourfold army (Udyogaparva, ch. 57, p. 704). In the Sabhāparva we read that Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīmasena reached Magadha (Ch. 21, pp. 235–236). Jarāsandha hearing of the valour of Karṇa fought with him but was defeated and being pleased with his great skill in arms made Karṇa, king of the city of Mālinī (Śāntiparva, chs. 4–5, pp. 1378–1379).

In the Aśvamedhaparva (Ch. 82, p. 2093) it is stated that after the battle of Kurukṣetra when the horse let loose at the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira was proceeding

towards Hastināpura, Meghasandhi, son of Sahadeva, king of Magadha, offered battle to Arjuna but was defeated by the latter.

The Purāṇas.

The Purâṇas also make no less prominent mention of Magadha. They corroborate many of the accounts that we get from the Great Epic and besides, furnish other important information about the country and the people. The Brahmapurāṇa tells us that the first great Samrāt or Emperor Pṛthu gave Magadha to Māgadha being highly pleased with his song in praise of the Samrāṭ. (Vāyupurâṇa, ch. 62, śl. 147; cf. Brahmapurāṇa, ch. IV, śl. 67). This has reference to the minstrel character of the Māgadha in Vedic literature.

In the Padmapurāṇa it is said that Jarāsandha the great king of Magadha, besieged Mathurâ with his immense army of twenty-three akṣauhiṇīs (Brahmapurâṇa, ch. 195, śl. 3). The Viṣṇupurâṇa adds that Jarâsandha had two daughters, Asti and Prâpti, who were married to Kaṁsa, the king of Mathurâ. When Kaṁsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa, Jarâsandha with his army went to Mathurâ to destroy Kṛṣṇa with the whole tribe of the Yādavas and attacked Mathurâ but he was repulsed with heavy loss. (Viṣṇupurâṇa, 5 Aṁsa, ch. 22).

The Bhâgavata-Purâṇa narrates that Bhīma, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa in the guise of Brahmins went to Girivraja where Vṛhadratha's son Jarâsandha ruled. Bhīma fought with Jarâsandha and Jarâsandha was killed by Bhīma. Then Kṛṣṇa made Sahadeva king of Magadha and freed the kings imprisoned by Jarâsandha. This account shows an exact agreement with the story as told in the Great Epic (Śrīmadbhâgavata, skandha, 10 ch. 72, ślokas 16 and 46). The Purâṇas assert that the successors of Jarâsandha ruled over

Magadha for a thousand years. Ripuñjaya was the last monarch of this dynasty (Viṣṇupurāṇa, 4, 23). Ripuñjaya was killed by his minister, Sunika who installed his son Pradyota on the throne of Magadha. Five kings of the Pradyota dynasty ruled over Magadha for 138 years. The Pradyota dynasty was succeeded by the Śisunāgas of whom, 12 kings reigned in Magadha for 162 years. Mahānandi was the last king of this dynasty. Mahâpadma Nanda, son of Mahânandi by his śūdra wife destroyed the Kṣatriya race and established śūdra rule in Magadha. Thenceforth eight sons of Nanda ruled over Magadha for a hundred years. But the Nandas were destroyed by Kauṭilya who installed Candragupta Maurya on the throne. Ten kings of the Maurya dynasty are said to have ruled over Magadha for 837 years. Bṛhadratha was the last king of this dynasty which was followed by the Śuṅga dynasty founded by the Commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra. Devabhūti was the last monarch of the Śuṅga family. Ten kings of this dynasty ruled in Magadha for 112 years. Devabhūti was killed by Vāsudeva Kāṇva who founded the Kāṇva dynasty, and four kings of this family ruled in Magadha for 45 years. Then Sipraka, a royal servant, murdered king Suśarman, usurped the throne and founded the Andhra dynasty, thirty kings of which reigned in Magadha for 456 years. (Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 24). The Viṣṇupurāṇa gives us a long list of the ancestors of Jarāsandha as well as of the monarchs that succeeded him to the throne of Magadha. Ajamīḍa, son of Hastin, had a son named Ṛkkha who had a son named Sambaru who had a son named Kuru who built Kurukṣetra. From Kuru sprang up many of the ruling dynasties of northern India as will appear from the following genealogical tables derived from the Purāṇas.

- Kuru
  - Sudhanuḥ
    - Suhotra
      - Cyavana
        - Kritaka
          - Uparicaravasu
            - Vṛhadratha
              - Jarāsandha
                - Sahadeva
                  - Somâpi
                    - Śrutasravā (Māgadhā)
              - Kuśāgra
                - Ṛṣabha
                  - Puṣpavāna
                    - Satyadhrita
                      - Sudhanva
                        - Jantu.
  - Janhu
  - Parīkṣit

(Viṣṇupurāṇa, Aṁśa IV, ch. 19).

Jarāsandha
|
Sahadeva
|
Somâpi
|
Śrutavāna
|
Āyutāyuḥ
|
Viramitra
|
Naya
|
Sukkhatra
|
Vṛhatkarmā
|
Senajit
|
Śrutañjaya
|
Vipra
|
Suci
|
Khemya
|
Subrata
|
Dharma
|
Suśrava
|
Didasena
|
Sumati
|
Suvala
|
Sunipa
|
Satyajit
|
Viśrajit

All these kings are said to have ruled for 1001 years altogether. (Viṣṇupurāṇa, Aṁśa IV, ch. 23).

Similar lists are furnished in the other Purāṇas also and they sometimes show slight variations. Thus we give below the list given in the Matsyapurāṇa.

Mudgala
|
Brahmiṣṭha
|
Indrasena
|
Bindhyāsva
|
Divodâsa
|
Mitrāyu
|
Maitreya
|
Caidyarava
|
Sudâsa
|
Somaka
|
Jantu — Ṛkkha
Ṛkkha
|
Samvaran
|
Kuru

Kuru
|
Sudandhyā — Jambu — Parīkṣit — Prajan — Arimardan
Sudandhyā
|
Punya
|
Cyavan
|
Krimi
|
Caidya
|
Vṛhadratha
|
Kuśâgra
|
Vṛsabha
|
Puṇyavāna
|
Satyadriti
|
Danusa
|
Sarva
|
Sambhava
|
Vṛhadratha (Jarâsandha)
|
Sahadeva
|
Somavit
|
Śrutaśravâ

(Matsyapurāṇa, ch. 50)

Sahadeva (killed in the Kurukṣetra)
|
Somādhi
|
Śrutaśravā
|
Apratipa
|
Nivamitra
|
Surakkhepa
|
Vṛhatkarṇa
|
Senājit
|
Śrutañjaya
|
Vibhu
|
Subhi
|
Khema
|
Anuvarata
|
Sunetra
|
Nivritti
|
Trinetra
|
Dyumatsena
|
Mahinetra
|
Acala
|
Ripuñjaya (Matsyapurāṇa, ch. 271)

Mr. Pargiter shows from an analysis of the Pauranic lists of kings that the dynasties in Magadha and the adjoining countries were descended from Kuru's son Sudhanvan and the genealogy is found in seven Purāṇas. Vasu the fourth

in succession from him conquered the kingdom of Cedi which belonged to the Yādavas and obtained the title Caidyoparicara, the overcomer of the Caidyas. He also subdued and annexed the adjoining countries as far as Magadha. This great conqueror had five sons, Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśa or Kuśāmba called Manivāhana, Yadu and a fifth Māvella, Māthailya or Māruta. He divided his territories of Magadha, Cedi, Kauśāmbī, Karūṣa and Matsya among these five sons and established them in separate kingdoms. The eldest son Bṛhadratha took Magadha with Girivraja as his capital and founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty there. It was at this time that Magadha for the first time took a prominent place in traditional history. (Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp, 118, 282). The Pauravas thus ruled over the whole of the Ganges and Jumna plain from the Siwalik hills to Magadha, except Śūrasena (which was Yâdava) and Kāśī, namely the kingdoms of Hastināpura, Pañcāla, Cedī, Vatsa, Karūṣa and Magadha (in all of which the ruling families were Bhāratas) and possibly Matsya (Ibid, p. 293).

The Harivaṁśa

The Harivaṁśa which is an appendix to the Great Epic gives the additional information about Jarāsandha, king of Magadha that he killed the horses of the chariot of Balarāma, brother of Kṛṣṇa and marched against Balarāma. (Viṣṇuparva, ch. 35, śls. 92 & 94). But he was conquered by the Vṛṣṇis (Ibid, ch. 36, śl. 40). Kālidāsa who derived his materials from the Purāṇas and the Epics speaks of the matrimonial relations of the early kings of Kośala with the ruling family of Magadha. He says that Dilīpa the father of

The Raghuvaṁśa

Raghu from whom the dynasty derived its name, married Sudakṣinâ, daughter of the king of Magadha (Raghuvaṁśa, I,

31). Kālidâsa also refers to the prominent position occupied by the Magadha king in his beautiful account of the Svayamvara of Indumatī. (Raghuvaṁśa VI.).

The Daśakumāracarita

In the Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin who belongs to about the same period as Kālidāsa we have a description of Magadha. Daṇḍin there speaks of a monarch, Rājahaṁsa who was a powerful king of Magadha. This king is said to have faught against the king of Mālava Mānusāra but Mānusāra was defeated by Rājahaṁsa who worshipped Nârâyaṇa as he was childless. He had a son who was handed over to the king when he was in the forest by a hermit. His son was named Rājavāhana (Saṅkhiptakathā / purvapiṭhīkā pp 4-5, 1st Ucchvâsa).

The Mudrārākṣasa.

The Drama Mudrârākṣasa deals with the downfall of the Nanda dynasty brought about by Cāṇakya and Candragupta and its scene of action is naturally laid at the Magadha capital, Pāṭaliputra. It describes the wonderful work of the secret service installed by the wily minister of the great founder of the Maurya dynasty and relates how Râkṣasa, the able and faithful minister of the departed Nandas, was won over to serve Candragupta.

The Svapnavāsavadattī of Bhāsa.

Svapnavâsavadattâ, one of the most important of the recently discovered dramatic works of Bhâsa, also speaks of Magadha and its king. The king of Vatsa was Udayana who did not take proper care for the management of his kingdom. He depended solely on his able and wise minister Yaugandharâyaṇa. This minister devised a plan to make his king a universal monarch and therefore wanted to win over the support of the royal house

of Magadha. According to his calculations a matrimonial alliance between the two houses would cement them together for all offensive and defensive purposes; but he was foiled in his attempt by the great love his king bore towards his queen Vāsavadattā. He therefore wanted to separate the two and laid his plans deep. One day while the king was away on a hunting expedition the minister by an artifice removed the queen Vāsavadattâ from the palace and had her apartments burnt by some other person. He took the queen in the guise of a brahmin woman and introduced her to Padmāvatī, daughter of Pradyota, king of Magadha. While Udayaṇa returned from hunting he saw the women's apartments burnt and was very much aggrieved but he passed his days in the expectation of reunion with his queen Vāsavadattā. The spies of the king of Magadha informed their king of everything taking place at the Vatsa capital. The king of Magadha thus came to learn that queen Vāsavadattā must have been burnt and thus he was induced to offer his daughter's hand to the king of Vatsa. Under the advice of Yaugandharāyaṇa Udayaṇa accepted the proposal. Marriage between Udayaṇa, king of Vatsa and Padmâvatī, daughter of the king of Magadha, was celebrated with great pomp. Thus the two kingdoms, Vatsa and Magadha were closely related by matrimonial alliance.

Chinese Account, Hiuen Tsang.

A vivid account of Magadha in the 7th century A. D. can be gleaned from the invaluable record of Hiuen Tsang's visit to India. According to the famous Chinese traveller the country of Magadha was 5,000 li in circuit. There were few inhabitants in the walled cities but the other towns were fully populated. The soil was rich and yielded luxurious crops. It produced a kind of rice with large grain of extraordinary fragrance. The land was low and moist and the

towns were on plateaus, from the beginning of summer to the middle of autumn, the plains were overflowed and boats could be used. The inhabitants were honest. The climate was hot, the people esteemed learning and revered Buddhism. There were above fifty Buddhist monasteries and more than 10,000 ecclesiastics for the most part adherents of the Mahāyāna system. There were some deva temples and the adherents of the various sects were numerous. (Watters on Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 86-87; Beals, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, pp. 82-83).

Location.

According to Parāsara and Varāhamihira, Magadha is situated in the eastern division of the nine portions into which the whole sub-continent of India is divided (Cun. Ancient Geo., p. 6) Magadha was bounded by the Ganges on the north, by the district of Benares on the west, by Hiraṇyaparvata or Monghyr on the east, and by Kiraṇa Supavana or Singhbhum on the south. Cunningham infers that in ancient times Magadha must have extended to the Karmnāsā river on the west and to the sources of the Damoodar river on the south. (Ibid, p. 518 foll.). Rhys Davids in the Cambridge History of India gives us boundaries which, according to him, were probably the Ganges to the north, the Sone to the west, the country of Aṅga to the east and a dense forest reaching the plateau of Chota Nagpur to the south. (Camb. History of India, Ancient India, p. 182). Cunningham and Rhys Davids apparently differ in stating the western boundary and this difference is not negligible as Benares is a longway off from the Sone and the district immediately to the west of the Sone was probably included in Magadha.

Modern Researches on Magadhan history.

Magadha was a narrow strip of country of some considerable length from north to south, and about twelve to fifteen per cent in area of the size of Kośala. Just as Kośala corresponded very nearly to the present province of Oudh, but was somewhat larger, so Magadha corresponded at the time of the Buddha to the modern district of Patna, but with the addition of the northern half of the modern district of Gayā. The inhabitants of this region used to call it Magā, a name doubtless derived from Magadha (Camb. History of India, pp. 182-183). According to the Siamese and other Buddhist books, as Spence Hardy shows, Magadha or Madhyamaṇḍala was supposed to be situated in the centre of Jambudīpa. It would be difficult to define its limits, but it is generally regarded as answering to Central Behar. In the reign of Bimbisāra, Rājagaha was its capital. It is called Makata by the Burmans and Siamese, Mo-ki-to by the Chinese and Makala Kokf by the Japanese (Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 140). All these are no doubt phonetic variations of the name Magadha. Prof. Rapson says that Magadha or Southern Behar comprises the districts of Gayā and Patnā. It was a kingdom of the greatest political importance in the history of Ancient Mediæval India (Rapson's Ancient India, p. 166). Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri places Magadha to the west of Aṅga and says that it was separated from the latter kingdom by the river Campā. He further observes that it was at one time included in the Aṅga kingdom. (Political History, p. 53). Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar. (Ibid, p, 56),

References to Magadha in the Buddhist

The Pāli literature is rich in materials for reconstructing an account of Magadha and its ancient capital, Girivraja (Rājagṛha). An attempt has been made here to present

literature. materials hitherto unnoticed by scholars.

Magadha in the Vinaya Piṭaka.

The Vinayapiṭaka which is the earliest of the three piṭakas of the Southern Buddhists states that the fields of Magadha were well divided for the purpose of cultivation. (Vinayapiṭaka, I, p. 237). The same work informs us that in Magadha there were eighty thousand villages all of which came under the sway of King Bimbisāra, (Vinayapiṭaka, I, p. 29), who cherished a great regard for the Buddha and the bhikkhus. Once, we are told, the king went to have his bath in the river Tapoda that flows by this ancient city. When he reached the river he saw the bhikkhus taking their bath. The city gate was closed and so he could not enter the city of Rājagṛha. Next morning he came after taking his bath without proper dress to the Buddha who gave him instruction and advised the bhikkhus not to spend so much time in their bath. (Ibid, IV, pp. 116–117). This account gives us the interesting piece of information that the gate of the city of Rājagṛha was closed in the evening and no body, not even the king, was allowed to enter the city after the gates were closed.

We are further informed that Magadha was the birthplace of Jīvaka, the physician, who educated himself at Taxila and who, on his return to his native city after completing his education, was appointed the physician to the royal family. (Ibid, I, 286 foll). On his way home from Taxila, Jīvaka cured the head trouble of the wife of a banker at Sāketa, the skin disease of a banker of Benares and jaundice of King Pradyota of Ujjain. (Ibid, I, 268 foll). His success in operating on the fistula of King Bimbisāra won for him the post of royal physician and he was afterwards appointed by the king physician to the Buddha and the congregation of bhikkhus that lived with him. Once,

we are told, Magadha was badly attacked by five kinds of diseases (*e. g.*, leprosy, goitre, asthma, dry leprosy and appamāra) and Jīvaka had to treat the bhikkhu patients only suffering from these diseases. (Ibid, I, p. 71).

The chief minister of Ajātasatru named Vassakāra began the work of repairing the fort at Rājagaha in the kingdom of Magadha. He needed timber for the purpose and went to the reserved forest but was informed that the wood was taken by a bhikkhu named Dhaniya. Vassakāra complained to King Bimbisāra about it. It was brought to the notice of the Buddha who ordered the bhikkhus not to take anything not offered or presented to them. (Ibid, III, pp. 41–45).

In the Nikāyas.

The Dīgha Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka tells us that the Buddha while in Magadha spoke of the rebirths of the dead upāsakas of Magadha (D. N., II, pp. 202–203). Twenty-four hundred thousand upāsakas of Magadha obtained Sotāpattiphalam by following Buddha's instructions (Ibid, II, p. 218). The same work narrates how when the Buddha was once dwelling in a Brahmin village in Magadha, Sakka invited the Buddha with his court musician named Pañcasikha who pleased the Buddha by his music. Sakka put many questions to the Buddha about issā (jealousy), macchariya (avarice), chanda (desire), vitakka (doubt), the attainment of the path leading to nibbānaṁ, etc. The Buddha explained them to the satisfaction of Sakka who became greatly pleased and paid his obeisance to the Buddha thrice (Ibid, II, 263 foll). The Buddha had a long discussion with the Brahmin ambassadors of Magadha about dibbacakkhu (celestial insight). They afterwards became pleased with him (Ibid, I, 150 foll). The Buddha preached to the bhikkhus

of Magadha the Cakkavattisīhanāda Suttanta which advises the bhikkhus to depend on themselves and not to depend on others, to depend on Dhamma and not on anything else (Ibid, III, p. 58). He met Sāriputta at Pāvārika ambavana in Magadha. Sāriputta expressed great admiration for the Buddha and admitted that there was none equal to the Buddha in wisdom (Ibid, III, 99).

The Dīgha-Nikāya gives a beautiful account of the visit paid to the Buddha by the patricide monarch of Magadha, the terrible Ajātasatru. The Buddha was staying at Rājagṛha in the Mango grove of Jīvaka with many bhikkhus. On a full-moon night Ajātasatru of Magadha asked his ministers as to which Śramaṇa or Brāhmaṇa should be approached and worshipped to pacify his troubled mind. Followers of five heretical teachers were present there and each advised the king to visit his respective preceptor but Jīvaka advised him to see the Buddha. Ajātasattu acted according to the advice of Jīvaka. Ajātasattu was converted to the Buddhist faith and made a considerable progress in his spiritual insight but on account of his great sin of killing his father he could not attain even the first stage of sanctification (Dīgha Nikāya, I, 47 foll).

The same work also tells us how the Aṅga kingdom with its capital Campā was included in the Magadha empire. While the Buddha was sojourning at Campā in the kingdom of Aṅga, a Brahmin named Soṇadaṇḍa was in the enjoyment of the revenues of the town as it was given to him by Bimbisāra of Magadha. Brahmin householders of Campā went to the Buddha. Soṇadaṇḍa also accompanied them. All of them became converts to Buddhism (Dīgha Nikāya, I, pp. 101 foll)

The Majjima Nikāya which comes next in order describes Senānigāma, one of the villages of Magadha, as a very nice place having a beautiful forest and a river with transparent water. Alms were easily obtainable there signifying that it was a prosperous village. (I., 166-167). It also records an interesting incident touching upon the hospitality extended to strangers by a Magadhan potter. We are told that once Buddha went to a Magadhan potter named Bhagavā and asked his permission to spend one night in his workshop. The potter told the Buddha that he might dwell in his workshop if another bhikkhu named Pukkusāti had no objection. The Buddha asked the bhikkhu's permission, stayed there and spent the greater part of his time in meditation. Pukkusāti was really following the Buddha's dharma. He had got ordination from another bhikkhu, and had before this no occasion to see the Buddha. Hence he could not recognise the Buddha who instructed him in the six dhātus. He then recognised the Blessed One. (Majjhima Nikāya, III., 237 foll).

The Samyutta Nikāya tells us that the brahmins of Magadha used to cultivate lands. There lived in Ekanālā, a village in Magadha, a brahmin named Bharadvāja. One day at the time of dinner the Buddha who was then staying at the village for sometime came to his house for alms. The brahmin had at that time 500 ploughs ready for cultivation. He saw the Buddha standing for alms at his door and told him that he earned his living by ploughing the land for cultivation and he rather haughtily advised the Buddha to do the same for his livelihood. The Buddha replied that he was in the habit of doing the same thing. He then explained what he used to do. The brahmin was very much impressed by all that the Buddha had said and became his disciple. (Pt. I., 172-173). The same Nikāya further informs us that there was a poet in Magadha named Vaṅgīsa who repeated many stanzas before the Buddha who praised him much. (I., 185 foll). It also narrates that a paribbājaka or wandering ascetic named Jambukhādaka went to Sāriputta who was at Nāla-

kagāma in Magadha and asked him about nibbāṇa. Sāriputta answered that extermination of passion, hatred and delusion lead to Nibbāṇam. (Samyutta Nikāya, IV., 251-260). We are further told by the Samyutta Nikāya that king Ajātasattu attacked Pasenadi of Kosala with a four-fold army to conquer that country and also Kasī. Pasenadi went to check the attack with the result that he was defeated and fled to Sāvatthī. When they fought for the second time, Ajātasattu was defeated and captured. Pasenadi released him but confiscated his elephants, horses, chariots and foot soldiers. (I., pp. 82-85).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka mentions Magadha as one of the sixteen great janapadas or countries of Ancient India. It was full of seven kinds of gems, immense wealth and power. (I., 213; IV., 252, 256, 260). It was here in Magadha at Nālakagāma that Sāriputta was questioned by a paribbājaka named Sāmaṇḍaka about happiness and suffering. Sāriputta replied cryptically, "Birth is suffering and non-birth is happiness." (Ibid V., 120-121).

In the Theragāthā

The Theragāthā of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka records the influence of the Buddha's teachings on the theras. Once the Buddha gave instructions to Visākha who was the son of a rājā in Magadha. After listening to his teachings Visākha left the world. In due course he established insight and acquired six-fold abhiññā (supernatural power). (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 152).

In the Jātakas.

The Jātakas are full of interesting information about Magadha. Magadha, it it said, was famous for conch shells. (Jātaka, Fausboll, VI., 465). White elephants are said to have been used there by the royal family. (Ibid., I., 444). Agriculture was prosperous and there were some brahmins who

used to cultivate land themselves in Magadha, (Ibid., IV., 276-277). It is stated in the Makasa Jātaka that there was a particular village inhabited by fools who once went to the forest where they used to work for their livelihood. They were so foolish that they had to pay the penalty of their foolishness by losing their own lives while trying to destroy mosquitoes with bows and arrows. (Ibid., I., 246).

The Darīmukha and the Saṅkhapāla Jātakas have references to the education of Magadhan princes at Taxila. In Magadha Bodhisatta was born as the son of the Chief Queen. He was named Brahmadatta Kumāra. He went to Taxila to educate himself and went to various countries and learnt sippa (arts), manners and customs. (III., 238-240; cf. Jātaka, V., 247-248). Another Magadhan prince Duyyodhana went to Taxila to learn the arts. He was later crowned king after showing his skill in the arts. (Ibid., V., 161-162). He used to practise charity to Samaṇas, Brāhmaṇas and other people, he observed precepts and performed many meritorious deeds. (Ibid., V., 171-172). In Magadha many people engaged themselves in trade and commerce and added to the wealth of the country.

References to big bankers in Magadha during Buddha's time may be gleaned from the Jātakas. In the Asampadāna Jātaka we find that a Magadhan seṭṭhi or banker named Saṅkha was the master of eighty crores of wealth. He had in Benares a friend who was also a banker having the same amount of riches. He helped his friend greatly but it so happened that his friend's conduct was unfortunately not marked by any sign of gratefulness. Hearing of this ingratitude, the king caused the seṭṭhi of Benares to give all his wealth to his benefactor. But the Magadhan seṭṭhi was so honest that he refused to take back more than his own. (Ibid., I., 466-467).

The Lakkhaṇa Jātaka refers to the destruction of paddy by deer which used to come to the field during harvest. But the Magadhans in order to capture and kill them laid traps and devised various other means. (Jātaka, Fausboll, I., p. 143; cf. Jātaka, I., p. 154). In the Kulāvaka Jātaka we read that in Magadha Bodhisatta was born in a big family. He was called Maghakumāra. When he grew up, he was known as Maghamānava. He married a girl from a family of equal social status. He had sons and grandsons and he became a Dānapati (a great donor). He used to observe the great precepts. He did many things for the welfare of the village in which he was born along with the people of other thirty families of the same village, e. g., digging of tanks, construction of bridges, building of rest houses, making of roads, giving of alms, etc, etc. (Ibid., I., p. 199).

Once in Magadha a wood was being burnt down by a forest-fire and the Bodhisatta being born as a quail could not fly away as he was very young but he saved his life by the power of truth. (Jātaka, I., p. 213). We are informed by another Jātaka story that the Bodhisatta was born in Magadha in a brahmin family. He became a Ṛṣi and went to the Himalayan regions where he attained supernatural and transcendental power. He then went to Rājagṛha and reached the royal garden. The King of Magadha received him cordially and fed him to his satisfaction in the palace and allowed him to stay in the royal garden. (Ibid., I., p. 373). Another Jātaka story narrates that once there was a talk amongst the Magadhas whether the Buddha was a disciple of Uruvela-Kassapa or *vice versa* but the problem was afterwards solved when Uruvela-Kassapa bowed down at the feet of the Buddha. (Jātaka, VI., 220).

The Campeyya Jātaka records an interesting fight between the two neighbouring countries of Aṅga and Magadha.

There was the river Campā flowing between Aṅga and Magadha and a Nāga king named Campeyya used to live in that river. From time to time Aṅga and Magadha were engaged in battle. Once the Magadhan king was defeated and he was pursued by the army of Aṅga but he escaped their hands by jumping into the river named Campā. Again with the help of the Nāga king he defeated the king of Aṅga and recovered his lost kingdom and besides conquered Aṅga. He became intimately connected with the Nāga king and every year he used to make offerings to the Nāga king on the bank of the river Campā with great pomp. (Jātaka, IV., pp. 454-455). It is stated in one of the Jātaka stories that at one time the King of Benares conquered Aṅga and Magadha (Jātaka, V., 316) and that the Magadhan kingdom once came under the suzerainty of Aṅga. (Jātaka, VI., 272) A Jātaka story again informs us that Ajātasatru burnt the dead body of Pasenadi, king of Kosala. (Ibid., p. 152).

In the Kathāvatthu.

The Kathāvatthu, one of the books of the Abhidhamma piṭaka which follows the Suttapiṭaka, confirms the story that we have already found in other parts of Buddhist literature that Sāriputta and Moggallāna were converted by the Buddha to his faith while he was in Magadha. (I., 97).

In the Mahāvaṁsa

The Mahāvaṁsa, the Ceylonese chronicle, which is one of the later works, relates that the Buddha obtained enlightenment at Uruvelā in Magadha. There he converted 1,000 Jaṭilas headed by Uruvela-Kassapa (Mahāvaṁsa, Geiger, tr., p. 4). It records some historical facts regarding Bimbisāra of Magadha. It tells us that he was 15 years old when he was anointed king by his father. He reigned for 52 years. (Ibid., p. 12).

The Samantapāsādikā, the commentary on the Vinaya-piṭaka by Buddhaghosa, narrates that King Ajātasatru ruled Magadha for 24 years. (Vol. I., p. 72). He bore the cost of repairing at Rājagṛha 18 mahāvihāras which were deserted by the bhikkhus after the parinibbāṇa of the Buddha. (Ibid., I., p. 9). The same work points out that the missionaries who were sent to various places to preach the dhamma of Asoka were almost all natives of Magadha. (Ibid., I., p. 63). This great commentary places before us some facts of great historical importance. Udaya Bhadda was one of the kings of Magadha who reigned for 25 years. He was succeeded by Śusunāga who ruled for 18 years. Kālāsoka had 10 sons who ruled for 22 years. Then came the Nandas who ruled over the country for the same period. The Nanda dynasty was over-thrown by Candagutta who ruled the kingdom for 24 years and he was succeeded by Bindusāra who sat on the Magadhan throne for 18 years. He was succeeded by Asoka. Two other kings of Magadha are mentioned in the Samantapāsadikā, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa. (Samantapāsādikā, Vol., I., pp. 72-73). King Bindusāra used to give alms to sixty-thousand brahmins and heretics. Asoka also followed his father for some time in making donations to non-Buddhist ascetics and institutions. But being displeased with them he stopped further charities to them and gave charities to the Buddhist bhikkhus. (Samantapāsādikā, Vol. 1., p. 44).

In the Palī commentaries.

Asoka's income from four gates of the city of Pāṭaliputta was 400,000 kahāpaṇas daily. In the sabhā (council) he used to get 100,000 kahāpaṇas daily. (Samantapāsādika, I., 52).

The Sumāṅgalavilāsinī, the commentary by Buddhaghosa on the Dīgha Nikāya, points out that Jīvaka had to treat the Buddha while he was in Magadhā. Jīvaka gave him a purgative which cured him. He offered the Buddha a pair of rich clothes which the latter accepted and gave Jīvaka suitable instructions with the result that Jīvaka was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. (I., p. 133).

From the Manorathapūraṇī, the commentary by Buddhaghosa on the Aṅguttara Nikāya, we learn that Pipphali was a young Brahmin who was the son of the first wife of Kapila of Magadha. This Pipphali afterwards became famous as Mahākassapa. (Sinhalese Edition., p. 108).

The Dhammapada Commentary, which, as I have shown in my work on Buddhaghosa, was written by that great commentator, records the jealousy of the heretics towards Buddhism. Moggallāna, one of the chief disciples of the Buddha, was struck by certain heretics with the help of some hired men. (III., pp. 65 foll). He used to dwell in Kullavālagāma in Magadha. At first he was very lazy but being encouraged by the Buddha he exerted strenuously and fulfilled sāvakapāramī. It is to be noted that Sāriputta who was a Magadhan obtained pāramitā here. (Dhammapada Commentary, I., p. 96). The same commentary also gives us legends about Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, who went to see the most beautiful palace of Jotiya in the mythic land of Uttarakuru. Ajātaśatru was with his father at that time. Both of them took their meals at Jotiya's palace. Jotiya presented Bimbisāra with a valuable gem, the light of which was enough to illuminate the whole house. (Dhammapada commentary, IV., pp. 199 foll). We thus see that the facts of great historical importance are narrated by the great commentator side by side with mythic legends.

The Sutta-Nipāta Commentary relates that Bimbisāra was called Māgadha because he was the lord of the Maga-

dhas. He was the possessor of a big army, hence he was called Seṇiya. It adds, besides, that Bimbisāra was so called because his colour was like that of excellent gold. (p.448).

In the Petavatthu Commentary we read that in two villages near Magadha many heretics of the Saṁsāramocaka caste lived. (Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu, pp. 67-72). The Dhammapada Commentary supplies the additional information that these opponents of Buddhism employed some hired men to assault Moggallāna, one of the chief followers of the Buddha. (Dhammapada Commentary, III., pp. 65 foll).

The Therīgāthā Commentary tells us that Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī who was converted by the Buddha went to Magadha after she became a therī and she lived in Gijjhakūṭa for some time. (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 106-107). Theri Khemā was born in Sāgalanagara in the kingdom of Magadha. She was very beautiful and of fair complexion. Bimbisāra made her his queen. The Buddha while at Veluvana used to hold a discourse on the disadvantage of beauty. Khemā did not go to him as she used to think much of her beauty, but Bimbisāra once brought her to the Buddha. She after receiving instructions from the Buddha became a devotee and afterwards became a bhikkhuṇī. (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 127-128). Therī Cālā was born in Magadha in Nālakagāma in an influential Brahmin family. She had two sisters, Upacālā and Sisūpacālā. These three were the sisters of Sāriputta. They obtained ordination from Buddha when they learnt that Sāriputta had done so. All of them became therīs. One day Māra went to tempt Cālā therī but in vain (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 162-163). The same commentary tells us that Bimbisāra went to Padmāvatī, a courtesan of Ujjain, and spent one night with her. Through the king of Magadha, was born to her a son who was named Abhaya

This boy was sent to the king when he was seven years old. (p. 39).

In the Divyāvadāna

The Divyāvadāna records the following account of Rājagṛha. While desirous of going from Śrāvasti to Rājagṛha the Lord said to the bhikkhus, "Let some of you who are willing to go from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha cross the Ganges by boats kept by King Ajātasatru and others by boats kept by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. With Ananda I shall be on the hoods of snakes and thus cross the Ganges." (p. 55). From Rājagṛha the Lord started from Śrāvasti with the bhikkhus. Merchants of Śrāvasti followed him. On the way they were attacked by 1,000 thieves. The lord asked the thieves to ascertain the worth of the merchants. The Lord showed them a mass of wealth. The thieves took a share and departed. The property of the merchants was protected. Thus the Lord saved the merchants six times on the way from Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī. (pp. 94-95). While the Buddha was staying at Karandakanivāpa in Veluvana, six wise preachers including Pūraṇa Kassapa were living at Rājagṛha. (p. 143). Devaputra said to Indra, "On the seventh day from to-day I shall be born of a she-pig at Rājagṛha. For a long time I shall have to use stool and urine." With the advice of Indra, Devaputra took refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha. He was reborn in the Tusita heaven. (p. 194). While the Lord was staying at Kalandakanivāpa in Veluvana, a nigranṭha householder named Subhadra was living in Rājagṛha. During his begging-tour the Lord came to the house of Subhadra who paid him due homage and asked him what child would be born of his wife. The Lord said, "A son worthy of the family will be born, will take ordination and will attain arahatship." In course of time, a son was

born to Subhadra. He was named Jyotiṣka who took refuge in the Buddha. (p. 262). A son was born to a householder of Rājagṛha. The householder went to the sea with merchandise. (p. 301). Five hundred merchants came to Rājagṛha but they could not buy merchandise as there was a festival going on in Rājagṛha at that time. (p. 307). A childless merchant of Rājagṛha died. The inhabitants of Rājagṛha put seeds of various colours into a pot and declared that he who would be able to pick up seeds of only one colour would become the merchant. (p. 309). The Lord was at Rājagṛha with 1350 bhikkhus who questioned him about Sāriputta and Moggallāna (p. 314). When the Buddha went to Rājagṛha from Śrāvasti for alms, Jīvaka came to see him. (p. 506). Bimbisāra was the king of Magadha at the time of the Buddha. Vaidehī was his queen, Ajātasatru was his son and Vassakāra was his minister. (p.545).

In the Mahāvastu-avadāna.

The Mahāvastu-Avadāna also, as might be expected, speaks of Magadha and Rājagṛha. In its introductory portion, it speaks of the Jetavana monastery whence Mahāmand Gatyāyana went out on his expeditions of enquiry in the various heavens. (Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, I., 31). A story is narrated how once Rājagṛha, the ancient capital of Magadha, was suffering from a very severe pestilence; to get rid of it the king sent to the king of Aṅga for a bull (risabha) with supernatural powers for the possession of which the Aṅga kingdom was prosperous and healthy. The bull was lent by the Aṅga king and when brought within the boundary limits of the Magadha capital, all pestilences due to attack by superhuman beings vanished. (Mahāvastu, I., 288 foll). Magadha is mentioned as one of the great countries of India. (Ibid., II., p. 419).

The Mahāvastu also narrates a story of a theological discussion that took place between two great disciples of the Buddha, Ānanda and Mahākāsyapa when they were on their peregrinations in Magadha. (Vol. III., pp. 47 foll). A wandering ascetic Sañjayī Vairaṭiputra Parivrājaka declared, "Śramaṇa Gautama has come to Girivraja (i. e. Rājagṛha) of Magadha." (Vol. III., p. 90). The Buddha declares in a passage of the Mahāvastu that his bhikṣus were wandering through Magadha, Kośala, and Vajjabhūmi (Vol. III., p. 421). The Mahāvastu also narrates how once the Enlightened one wandering through Magadha, took up his residence at the garden of Yaṣṭīvana at Rājagṛha. Rājā Śreṇiya Bimbisāra proclaimed in his city that all classes of officers and men, merchants and artisans must be ready to repair to the Buddha and show their respect to him. All classes obeyed the royal orders and followed by a huge retinue of twelve nayutas, the King went to meet the Buddha who discussed many topics with the large concourse of Brahmins that accompanied the King. (Vol. III., 441 foll). Pāṭaliputra does not appear to be mentioned in the Mahāvastu, but Rājagṛha is often referred to as the capital of Magadha and specially because of the frequent residence of the Buddha there. (See I., 254 ff; II., 119 ff; III., 439 ff).

Capital cities
1. Rājagṛha.

The ancient capital of Magadha was Rājagṛha or Rājagaha. It was so called because it was founded by a king and every house in it resembled a palace. (Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 162 note). It was also called Kusāgrapura, "the city of the superior reed-grass" which abounded there. (Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II., 148). Being surrounded by mountains, it acquired the name of Girivraja. This name was given in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata to the old capital of Jarāsandha, King of Magadha. Dham-

mapāla says that the place was originally built or planned by Mahāgovinda, the famous architect, to whom it was the proper thing to ascribe the laying out of ancient cities. (Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 82 quoted in Cambridge History of India, pp. 183-184). In the Sāsanavaṁsa, we read that King Mandhāta was the founder of Rājagaha, (p. 152).

In the Sutta Nipāta Commentary it is stated that it was ruled by famous kings like Mandhāta and Mahāgovinda. In the time of the Buddha it became a city and in other times it remained vacant and inhabited by the Yakkhas. (p. 413). In the Jātakas it is mentioned as a great city. (I., 391). It had thirty-two gates and sixty-four posterns (Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 323). High mountains surrounded it on every side and formed, as it were, its external ramparts. On the west it could be approached through a narrow pass, on the north was a passage through the mountains. The town was extended from east to west and narrow from north to south. It was about 150 li in circuit. The remaining foundations of the wall of the inner city were about 30 li in circut. Kaṇika trees with fragrant bright golden blossoms were on all the paths, and these made the woods in late spring all golden coloured. (Beals, R. W. W., II., 150; Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II., 148).

Rājagṛha or Rājagaha, as it is called in Pāli, was the ancient capital of Magadha. It was also known as Girivraja.

References to Rājagaha in the Pāli literature.

The Pāli-Buddhist literature contains a good many references to it. The Vinayapiṭaka which is the earliest Pāli work, states that it was Rājagaha (Rājagṛha) where Sāriputta learnt Buddha's dhamma from Assaji one of the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus.

In the Vinayapiṭaka.

As we have seen before, Sāriputta went to Rājagaha with his friend Moggallāna to the Buddha who converted both of them. (I., 37 foll). Molasses were in abundance at Rājagaha. (Ibid., I., 226). There was a physician at Rājagaha named Ākāsagotta who operated on the fistula of a bhikkhu. (Ibid., I., 215). When the Buddha was at Veluvana at Rājagaha, Thullanandā, a bhikkhunī, used to get alms daily in a family. Once the householder invited many famous theras, e. g., Sāriputta, Moggallāna, etc. Thullanandā remarked that the householder had invited all insignificant theras when other superior theras were alive, e.g., Devadatta, Kokālika, etc. The householder being dissatisfied drove her out. (Ibid., IV., 66).

When the Buddha was at Veluvana at Rājagaha, Devadatta's gain and fame were completely lost. He with his followers used to ask for food at every house. (Ibid., IV., 71).

The Vinayapiṭaka tells us the story of a trader who wanted to go from Rājagaha to Patiyāloka. A bhikkhu who was on his begging tour came to the trader's house for alms. The trader gave him food and the food collected by him was exhausted by giving to several bhikkhus. He could not start his journey in time. He started on his journey late and was killed by robbers on the way. (Ibid, IV., pp. 79-80). A Sākyaputta named Upānanda while at Rājagaha was invited by his supporters. (Ibid., IV., 98). Upāli the son of a rich man of Rājagaha, was ordained as bhikkhu by his parents who thought that their son would suffer if he followed any other profession. (Ibid., IV., pp. 128-129). While the Buddha was at Rājagaha at Kalandakanivāpa, a party of six bhikkhuṇīs went to attend the Giraggasamajja (a kind of amusement like a Jātrā party), (Ibid., IV., 267). A seṭṭhi of Rājagaha built a vihāra for the bhikkhus. He had to take the consent of the Buddha as to the bhikkhus dwelling in a vihāra. (Ibid., II p. 146). Dhaniya, a potter's

son, made a hot house at the foot of the Gijjakūṭa hill which was very beautiful and many people came to see it. (Ibid., III., 41-42). Velaṭṭha Kaccāna was a trader who on his way to Rājagaha from Andhakavindha met the Buddha and his pupils and offered each bhikkhu a pot of molasses. (Ibid., I., pp. 224-225).

Dabba, a Mallian, looked after the food and sleeping arrangements of the bhikkhus. He was at Veluvana at Rājagaha. He was blamed by the bhikkhus of Mettiyabhummaja of not giving them good food and sleeping places. The matter was referred to the Buddha who decided in favour of Dabba. (Vinayapiṭaka, IV., 35-36).

At Uruvela Buddha converted Uruvelakassapa, Nadi Kassapa and Gayākassapa, three Jaṭila brothers with their followers numbering 1, 000. (Vinayapiṭaka, I., pp. 24-25)

The Dīgha Nikāya narrates that at Rājagaha the Buddha summoned all the bhikkhus and prescribed several sets of seven conditions of welfare of the Saṁgha. (II., pp. 76-81). Once the Blessed One while sojourning amongst the Magadhas went to a Brahmin village named Khānumata in the territory of Magadha. The Buddha took up his abode at Ambalaṭṭhikā garden. A Brahmin named Kūṭadanta who was influential and the owner of the Brahmin village used to dwell there as the village was given to him by Bimbisāra. Arrangements were being made for a big sacrifice. Many bulls, heifers, cows, goats, etc., were brought to the sacrificial altar. The Brahmin householders went to the Buddha who was there. Kūṭadanta also accompanied them to the Buddha. He was afterwards converted to the Buddhist faith with the Brahmin householders. (Ibid., I., pp. 127 foll).

In the Nikāyas.

While the Buddha was dwelling at the Gijjhakūṭapabbata at Rājagaha, a householder named Sandhāna went to see the



Buddha. Nigrodha, paribbājaka leader of Magadha, accompanied Sandhāna to the Buddha. Nigrodha asked the Buddha about the doctrine which he preached to the pupils and the pupils became certain about their emancipation after learning it. The Buddha explained to him his doctrine. (Ibid. III., 36 foll).

A myth about the yakkhas is also related in the Dīgha Nikāya which says that while the Buddha was dwelling at Rājagaha in the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, one day early in the morning the guardian spirits of four quarters with many of their followers went to the Buddha and told him that there were some yakkhas who were not pleased with the Blessed One and his disciples. To protect the bhikkhus from the yakkhas, Buddha should teach them Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta. The Yakkhas received the Āṭānāṭiya manta which the Buddha remembered and he taught it to the bhikkhus. (Dīgha Nikāya, III., 194 foll).

The Saṁyutta Nikāya tells us that the Blessed One was dwelling at Rājagaha at Tapodārāma. At this time Samiddhi early in the morning went to the river Tapoda to bathe. A goddess standing in the sky asked him, "You are begging alms without enjoyments. First enjoy and then beg alms so that your time may not pass away in vain." The bhikkhu replied, "There is no time fixed for death and hence I am begging without enjoying." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, I., pp. 8 foll).

The Buddha was at Rājagaha in Maddakucchi deer park. The Buddha had some sore in his foot which had been hurt by a stone. The pain was very acute but the Buddha calmly bore the pain lying down on the right hand side. The goddesses came to the Buddha and seeing him bearing the pain patiently they compared him to nāga (elephant), siuha (lion), ājānīya (thorough-bred horse), ṛsabha

(bull) etc. (Ibid., I., pp. 27-28).

The Buddha was at Rājagaha at Kalandakanivāpa in Veluvana, a devaputta named Dīghalaṭṭhi came to him and praised him by saying that he was meditative, freed, etc. (Ibid., I., p. 52).

When the Buddha was at Rājagaha in Veluvana, the wife of a Bharadvājagotta Brāhmaṇa, who had faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha once repeated the Salutation manta to the Buddha. The Brahmin became angry and took an oath to defeat her master. Accordingly he went to the Buddha and had a discussion with the result that he was defeated, became his disciple and took ordination from him. (Ibid., I., 160-161).

The Buddha was at Veluvana at Rājagaha, one Brahmin named Akkosaka Bharadvāja heard that another Brahmin of the Bharadvājagotta had become a disciple of samaṇa Gotama. He became very angry to hear this news. He went to the Buddha and gave him a sharp rebuke. The Buddha gave instructions to him and he was converted. (Ibid., I., 161-163).

Another Brahmin who had no faith in the Buddha, hearing of the conversion of Bharadvāja brahmin, went to the Buddha while he was at Veluvana and rebuked him severely, the Buddha gave instructions to him and converted him to his faith. (Ibid., I., pp. 163-164).

When the Buddha was at Rājagaha, a Brahmin called Aggīkabharadvāja prepared rice gruel with ghee for sacrifice. The Buddha entered Rājagaha for alms and went to Aggīka's house. Aggīka told the Buddha that he who was very learned and well versed in the three vedas and at the same time was of high birth could receive alms from him. The Buddha replied, "By birth one cannot be a Brahmin if

his inside is full of impurities. One who can remember his previous births, who knows the birth and death of other beings and who has put an end to his own birth is a real trivedī or proficient in three vedas." Aggīka became very pleased with the Buddha and requested him to accept the alms which the Buddha did not. (Ibid., I., 166-167).

The Vepullapabbata which was once known as the Vaṅkakapabbata was one of the hills surrounding Rājagaha. King Vessantara was banished to this pabbata. People could get up to its summit in three days as it was so high. It was also called Supassa. (Ibid., pt. II., 191-192). It was at Rājagaha that Anāthapiṇḍika, the great banker of Sāvatthī, was converted by the Buddha to his faith and the Buddha is said to have addressed him as Sudatta. (Ibid., pt. I., pp. 55-56).

When the Buddha was at Rājagaha a devaputta named Uttara approached him and uttered a gāthā which says that the lease of life of a human being is short and one cannot escape old age. One should perform good deeds which bring happiness (S. N., Vol. I., p. 55).

The Buddha was at Rājagaha at Kalandakanivāpa, many devatās who respected the heretical teachers praised their respective teachers in the presence of the Buddha. Māra who was present in disguise sang a stanza while Manavagāmī spoke in praise of the Buddha saying that Buddha is the foremost of all men and gods. (S. N. Vol. I. pp. 65-67).

The Buddha was at Rājagaha at Kalandakanivāpa. He sat in an open space and there was drizzling. Māra in the guise of a big snake came to frighten the Buddha who recognised him and said thus, "I am not afraid if the whole world is against me as I realise the impermanence of this world and I am accustomed to live in vacant places." (S. N., I., pp. 106-107).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya also refers to Rājagaha in several passages. The Buddha was at the Gijjhakūṭa at Rāja-

gaha. He went to the paribbājakārāma and preached the four dhammas to the ascetics living there. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, II., pp. 29-30).

When the Buddha was at the Gijjhakūṭa, Upaka, son of Maṇḍikā went to the Blessed One and said to him, "He who depends on others cannot do anything substantial and therefore he is blameworthy." The Buddha said, "You depend on others and therefore you are blameworthy." The Buddha afterwards instructed him in various topics such as kusala, akusala etc. (Ibid., II., 181-182).

When the Buddha was at the Gijjhakuṭa, a bhikkhu named Dhammika was the resident bhikkhu at Jātibhūmi. The householders of Jātibhūmi made arrangements for supplying four pacceyas (requisites) to the guests. But Dhammika used to abuse the guests and so they could not stay. The householders thereupon got disgusted with Dhammika and drove him out; Dhammika at last went to the Buddha and the Buddha advised him not to cherish ill-feeling towards the bhikkhus. (Ibid., III., pp. 366 foll).

When the Buddha was at Rājagaha, a bhikkhu named Soṇa was living at Sītavana near Rājagaha. He thought within himself that he was one of the ardent and exerting pupils of the Buddha but his mind was not free from sins. The Buddha coming to know his mind went to him and advised him not to be either more exerting or less exerting but to follow the middle course. (Ibid., III., pp. 374 foll).

When the Buddha was at the Gijjhakūṭa, Ānanda told him that Pūraṇa Kassapa divided all beings into six jātis or classes, e. g., Kaṇhābhijāti, etc. Ānanda questioned the Buddha whether such a classification was correct or not. The Buddha answered in the negative. (Ibid., III., p. 383 foll). The Blessed One went to Rājagaha from Paṅkadhā, a town of Kosala. At Paṅkadhā Buddha gave religious instructions to the bhikkhus on various precepts. Kassapagotta bhikkhu

Two therīs, Mettikā and Subhā, were daughters of an eminent brahmin of Rājagaha. (Psalms of the Sisters, pp. 28 and 148). Dhammadinnā was born in a clansman's family at Rājagaha. She became the wife of Visākha, a leading citizen. She heard the Master's teachings and got herself admitted to the order of the bhikkhuṇīs. (Ibid., p. 16) Another well known therī, Cittā, was born at Rājagaha in the family of a leading burgess.' When she had grown up she heard the Master's teachings and became a believer in the new faith. In course of time she won arahatship (p. 27). There were eminent burgesses in Rājagaha. (Ibid., p. 41). Subhā was reborn at Rājagaha as the daughter of a certain goldsmith. While the master was at Rājagaha she heard him teaching and believed in his doctrines. She entered the order. In course of time she won arahatship. (Ibid., p. 142).

In the Therīgāthā

The Jātaka stories which, as we have seen, have so much to say about Magadha, also make frequent references to Rājagṛha. Bodhisatta went to Rājagaha from the Mango-grove at Anupiya. He went out for alms at Rājagaha. The people there were charmed with the beauty of Siddhārtha and it was brought to the notice of the king who in order to test him talked with him and requested him to take over from him half the kingdom which the king Bimbisāra promised but he refused the offer. He then left him and went to Gayā. (Jātaka, I., 65-66). Kāludāyī was sent by Suddhodana to Rājagaha to bring back the Buddha to Kapilavatthu but he was converted by the Buddha whom he brought to the King. (Jātaka, I., 86).

In the Jātakas.

While the Buddha was at Rājagaha, Tissakumāra, son of a very rich banker of Rājagaha wanted to be converted

to Buddhism but at first he was prevented from doing so by his parents. Afterwards he was converted by the Buddha (Jātaka, I., 156).

A Brahmin of Rājagaha was very superstitious. A pair of clothes belonging to him was eaten by a rat and he did not allow anybody to wear the cloth which was afterwards thrown into a cemetery. (Jātaka, I., p. 372). Rājagaha is mentioned as a great city in one of the Jātakas. (Jātaka, I., p. 391). There was a festival at Rājagaha where people drank wine, ate flesh, danced and sang. (Jātaka, I., 489). Pilindiyavaccha turned the palace of Rājagaha into gold with the result that he was given an abundant supply of the five eatables, e. g., sugar, butter, ghee, honey and oil. (Jātaka, III., 363-64). The banker of Rājagaha brought the daughter of a banker of another place for his son. The marriage ceremony was performed but she became a barren lady. (Jātaka, IV., 37 foll). A meeting was held in a Santhāgāra at Rājagaha where the people met and discussed the means of welfare but they could not arrive at any definite conclusion and the matter was referred to the Buddha who settled it finally by preaching the Maṅgala Sutta of the Khuddakapāṭha. (Jātaka, IV., 72 foll). In the Vepulla mountain surrounding Rājagaha there was a gem used by an universal monarch by which Dhanañjaya the Kaurava king might be defeated in playing dice. (Jātaka, VI., 271).

In the Sāsanavaṁsa, the Mahāvaṁsa and the Dāṭhāvaṁsa

The Sāsanavaṁsa, a later work of the Pāli Buddhist literature, relates that king Mandhātā was the founder of Rājagaha. (p. 152). The bhikkhus headed by Mahākassapa performing the funeral ceremony of the Buddha, assembled and thinking of the bad remarks made by Subhadda a week after

the passing away of the Buddha they resolved to hold a council at Rājagaha. (Mahāvaṁsa, chap. 3.).

A Mahāthera named Indagutta with a large assembly of bhikkhus went from Rājagaha to Ceylon to join the foundation ceremony of the Mahāthūpa. (Ibid., p. 228).

The Dāṭhāvaṁsa gives an account of the life of the Buddha and of the attainment of Sambodhi by him. It says that Siddhatthakumāra renounced worldly life, put on yellow robe and went to Uruvela. There he made strenuous efforts for six years to acquire bodhi (enlightenment). In the evening of the full-moon day of Vaisākha, he went to the foot of the Bodhi tree and sat on a seat made of straw and defeated Mara's army. In the last watch of the night he acquired supreme knowledge. After the attainment of bodhi, he spent a week, seated on the same seat at the foot of the Bo-tree enjoying the bliss of emancipation. He spent another week, looking at the Bodhi tree with steadfast eyes. Another week was spent by him at a place called Ratanaghara near the Bodhi tree meditating upon paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination). He then went to the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree where he spent a week in meditation. He went to Mucalindanāgabhavana where he was saved by the nāga from hailstorm. He then visited the Rājāyatana tree. Thence he started for Isipatanamigadāva to preach his first sermon known as the Dhammacakkapavattana. (Dāṭhāvaṁsa, B. C. Law's Ed., p. VIII).

The Samantapāsādikā records that Rājagaha was a good place having accommodation for a large number of bhikkhus.

In the Pāli Commentaries

(Vol. I., P. T. S., p. 8). From the Visuddhimagga we learn that there was a festival at Rājagaha in which five hundred virgins

(kumārīs) offered Mahākassapa thera a kind of cake which he accepted. (Vol, II., p. 403). The Khuddakapāṭha Commentary tells us that Rājagaha was five yojanas away from the Ganges. (P. T. S. Ed., 162-163). The Vimānavatthu Commentary points out that Rājagaha was much frequented by Gautama Buddha and his disciples. The people of Rājagaha were always ready to satisfy the needs of the bhikkhus under the belief that such pious acts are attended with blessings of rebirth in some heaven or other. (pp. 250-251). Again we learn from the same commentary that an Upāsaka of Rājagaha daily used to offer food to four bhikkhus. By virtue of this merit he was reborn in the Yāma heaven. (pp. 246-247). A woman of Rājagaha gladly welcomed an arahat and gave him a chair to sit on. By virtue of this meritorious deed she was reborn in the golden mansion of the Tāvatiṁsa heaven. (Ibid., 27-28). There used to be held at Rājagaha a festival known as Nakkhattakīlaṁ the "sport of the stars" in which the rich took part. This festival lasted for a week. (Ibid., 62-74).

The Petavatthu Commentary tells us that there was a merchant at Rājagaha who was so very wealthy that his immense riches could not be exhausted if 1,000 coins were spent every day. (pp. 1-9).

Buddhaghosa, the great commentator, records various important facts and events about Rājagaha in his commentary on the Dhammapada. Two chief disciples of the Buddha went to Rājagaha and the inhabitants of Rājagaha showered charities upon them. A silk robe which was also given in charity was given to Devadatta. (Dhammapada Commentary, I., pp. 77 foll). A daughter of a banker of Rājagaha obtained Sotāpatti. (Ibid., III., p. 30). Sirimā was a beautiful prostitute of Rājagaha. She asked pardon from Uttarā,

daughter of Puṇṇakaseṭṭhi for her faults in the presence of the Buddha. She afterwards became one of his lay devotees and spent a large sum for him and his disciples. (Ibid., pp. III., 104 foll).

According to the Suttanipāta Commentary, the peak Gijjhakūṭa near Rājagaha was so called because it was frequented by vultures or because it was shaped like the peak of a vulture. (Suttanipāta Commentary, p. 413).

The Manorathapūraṇī relates that Piṇḍola Bharadvāja one of the Buddha's foremost disciples, was born at Rājagaha in a rich Brahmin family. He became the foremost of all pupils of the Buddha who used to make bold declarations about their attainment. (Sinhalese Ed., p. 122). It further narrates that Cullapanthaka and Mahāpanthaka, grandsons of Dhanaseṭṭhi, a banker of Rājagaha, could by their supernatural power create as many bodies as they liked and they were the foremost in this art. (Sinhalese Ed., p. 130 foll). Kumārakassapa, foremost of the orators amongst the Buddha's pupils, was, according to this commentary, born at Rājagaha (Manorathapūraṇī, Sinhalese Edition, p. 173 foll). His mother was the daughter of a banker of Rājagaha. When she grew up, she asked permission from her parents to receive ordination which was refused. She then went to her husband's place. She pleased her husband very much by her devotion and got permission from him to receive ordination. (Dhammapada Commentary, III., pp. 144-145).

A brahmin of Sāvatthī became an arahat at Gijjhakūṭa. He was very proud of seeing the beauty of Buddha's body. Buddha told him, "No use seeing my body, see my Dhamma and you will see me." (Ibid., IV., pp. 117-118).

The Jaina literature contains some information about Magadha. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was born in Magadha

(Modern Behār) which was then the most powerful state in India (Sinclair Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 8). Some two centuries after the death of Mahāvīra, a terrible famine visited Magadha. (Ibid., p. 10) It is told how Mahāvīra once preached at the court of Srenika Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, with so much force and good logic that the heir, prince Nandisena, was converted. (Ibid., p. 126).

In Jaina literature.

According to the Jaina account, Rājagaha was rich, happy, and thriving. (Jaina Sūtras, II., pp. 419).

Mahāvīra spent 14 rainy seasons in Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha. (Jaina Sūtras, S. B. E, Vol. I., p. 264). The eleven Gandharvas of Mahāvīra who knew the twelve aṅgas, the fourteen pūrvas and the whole Siddhānta died in Rājagaha after fasting for a month without drinking water. (Ibid., 287). In a wood 18 leagues from Rājagaha lived a gang of 500 robbers under Balabhadra Kapila, son of Kāśyapa who acquired supreme knowledge and knew that these men would become converts to the right faith, so he went to the wood where they lived. He was made prisoner and brought before the leader of the robbers. He sang the first stanza of the Uttarādhyayana sūtra by which some robbers were converted and he continued to sing till all the robbers were converted. (Jaina Sūtras, II., p. 31 foll). Jaya, son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagaha renounced the world and practised self-restraint. He reached perfection. (Jaina Sūtras, II., pp. 86-87). In Rājagaha lived a friar versed in magic arts. He carried off every woman he saw. The king being informed of it determined to find out the friar and punish him. The friar was killed by the king who released all the women. One of them refused to go to her husband being desperately smitten with love for her seducer. On the

advice of some wise men she was made to drink the milk mixed up with the friar's bones. This took the spell off her and cured her of her strange passion. (Jaina Sūtras, II., p. 383 f. n).

The historic importance of the city of Pāṭaliputra owes much to Gautama Buddha and his manifold activities. Pāṭaliputra is Patna of the present day and the seat of the Government of Bihar and Orissa. It finds a prominent place in the history of modern India and invokes a study of its past glories. Sthūlabhadra, who was the leader of some of the Jaina bhikkhus, was keenly alive to the importance of presenting the Jaina sacred literature, and he alone had learnt in Nepal the tenth purva and four other purvas. In spite of the absence of Bhadravāhu and his party he summoned a council at Pāṭaliputra which collected the eleventh aṅga and found that the 12th aṅga was missing. The 12th aṅga contained 14 purva which Sthūlabhadra was able to supply. Afterwards Bhadravāhu returned and he and his party refused to accept the work of the council of Pāṭaliputra and declared that the aṅga and purva were lost. (Sinclair Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 72). Its ancient Sanskrit names were Kusumapura and Puṣpapura from the numerous flowers (Kusuma) in the royal enclosure (pura). The Greeks call it Palibothra and the Chinese name it Pa-lin-tou. In the following pages we get an interesting account of Pāṭaliputra.

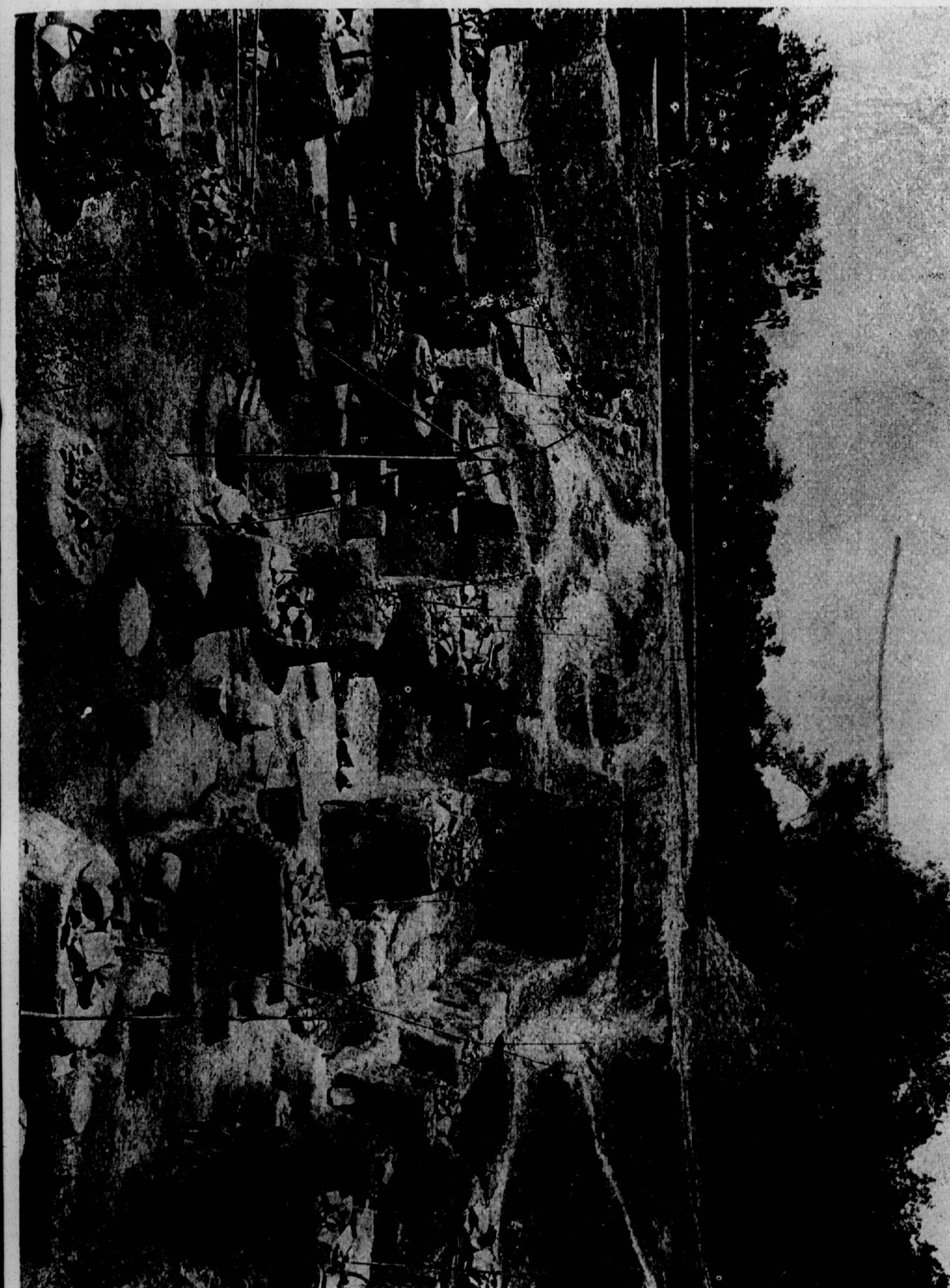
2. Pāṭaliputra

The genesis of the name of the city is based on a legend which is note worthy. Hiuen Tsang the great Chinese traveller gives an account of the origin of the name of the city. Once upon a time a very learned brahmin had a large number of disciples. A party of these on a certain

Origin of the name of the Pāṭaliputra.

occasion wandered in a wood and a young man of their number appeared to be unhappy and disconsolate. To cheer and amuse the gloomy youth his companions arranged for him a mock marriage. A man and a woman were chosen to stand as parents for the bridegroom, and another couple represented the parents of the imaginary bride. They were all near a Pāṭali tree and gave it to the bridegroom to be his bride. All the ceremonies of marriage were gone through and the man acting as father of the bride broke off a branch of the Pāṭali tree and gave it to the bridegroom to be his bride. When all was over and the other youngmen were going home, they wanted their companion the pseudo bridegroom to go with them, but he insisted on remaining near the tree. Here at dusk an old man appeared with his wife and a young maiden and the old man gave the maiden to the young student to be his wife. This couple lived together in the forest for a year when a son was born to them. The student, now tired of the lonely wild life of the woods, wanted to go back to his home but the old man, his father-in-law, induced him to remain by the promise of a properly built establishment and the promise was carried out very promptly. Afterwards, when the seat of government was removed to this place, it got the name Pāṭaliputra, because it had been built by gods for the son of the Pāṭali tree and it kept the name ever since. (Watters, On Yuan Chwang, vol. II., p. 87).

We have already pointed out in Chapter I. that according to Jaina tradition, Pāṭaliputra was built by Udaya, son of Darsaka, but the first beginnings were made by Ajātaśatru, as the Buddha saw his ministers measuring out a town where the great teacher was on his way to Vaiśālī from Magadha (See paper on Pāṭaliputra by H. C. Chakladar in the Modern Review, March, 1918, where the traditions about the foundation of Pāṭaliputra are discussed at some length).



Pāṭaliputra was built near the confluence of the great rivers of Mid-India, the Ganges, Son and Gandak but now the Son has receded some distance away from it. It was protected by a moat 600 ft. broad and 30 cubits in depth. At a distance of 24 ft. from the inner ditch there stood a rampart with 570 towers and 64 gates. The Samantapāsādikā informs us that Pāṭaliputra had four gates and Aśoka's income from them was 400,000 Kahāpaṇas daily (Vol. I., p. 52).

Location.

It was the later capital of Magadha. Daṇḍin writing about the seventh century A. D., when its glories were fading fast, speaks of it as the foremost of all the cities and full of gems. (Dasakumāracarita, lst Ucchvāsa, śl. 2, Purvapīṭhikā).

Importance.

Pāṭaliputra was the capital of Magadha ever since Udāyī shifted his headquarters there from Rājagriha. Thus it was the capital of the later Śiśunāgas, the Nandas and also of the great Mauryan Emperors, Chandragupta and Aśoka, but it ceased to be the ordinary residence of the Gupta sovereigns after the completion of the conquests made by Samudragupta. (V. Smith, Early History of India, p. 293). It was at this place that Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus Nicator to renew a treaty with Sandrocottus or Chandragupta. (Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 515, n.). Aśoka Maurya employed Censors or High Officers of the Law of Piety at Pāṭaliputra and everywhere in his kingdom with regard to the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law (dhamma) and the business of alms-giving. (Rock Edict, V). The Sāranāth Edict of Aśoka points out that whosoever will break the unity of the church shall be vested in white garments and compelled to dwell in an external residence.

Political history.

Aśoka after receiving the news of king Bindusāra's mortal illness, left Ujjain and hastened to Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Empire. He slew his eldest brother Sumana and ninety-eight other brothers except Tissa, the youngest of all. He then became the lord of India (Smith. Asoka, p. 232).

During the reign of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, the great Gupta Emperor, Pāṭaliputra continued to be a magnificent and populous city and was apparently not ruined until the time of the Hun invasion in the 6th century. Harshavardhan when he ruled Northern India as a paramount sovereign (612-47) made no attempt to restore the old imperial capital of Magadha, Pāṭaliputra, (Smith, Early History of India, 293-294). About 600 A. D. Sasānka Narendragupta, King of Central Bengal, destroyed the footprints of the Buddha at Pāṭaliputra and smashed many Buddhist temples and monasteries. (S. C. Vidyābhūṣana, History of Indian Logic, p. 349). Dharmapāla, the most powerful of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar, took some steps to renew the glory of Pāṭaliputra, but the interests of the Pāla monarchs seem to have been centered in Bengal rather than in Magadha. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 294).

Chinese accounts-Fā-Hien

Fā-Hien came to the town of Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) in the kingdom of Magadha, the city where Aśoka ruled in the 5th century A. D. The Chinese pilgrim was so much impressed by the glory and splendour of the city that he says that the royal palace and halls in the midst of the city were all made by spirits which Aśoka employed and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish. There was in

the city a brahmin named Rādhasāmi, a professor of the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism, of clear discernment and much wisdom, who understood every thing and lived by himself in spotless purity. He was much honoured and respected by the king. By the side of the tope of Aśoka there was also a Hīnayāna monastery. The inhabitants were rich, prosperous and righteous. (Legge, Travels of Fā-Hien, pp. 77-78).

Fā-Hien further gives an interesting description of a grand Buddhist procession of Pāṭaliputra (See Legge, Travels of Fā-Hien, chaps. X-XVII).

Hiuen Tsang

Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 7th century A. D., says that south of the Ganges lay an old city above 70 li (about 14 miles) in circuit, the foundations of which were still visible although the city had long been a wilderness. In the far past for countless years it was called Kusumapura city from the numerous flowers in the royal enclosure. Afterwards when men's lives extended to milleniums the name was changed to Pāṭaliputra city. (Watters, On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II., p. 87).

References to Pāṭaliputra in the Pāli literature.

Nārada dwelt at Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra. At this time Bhaddā, Queen of King Muṇḍa, died. Muṇḍa became over-whelmed with grief. He asked his treasurer to put the dead body of his queen in an oil pot so that he might console himself by looking at her for a long time. The treasurer finding the king greatly mortified, thought of finding out some means to pacify the king and he requested the king to go to Nārada and to listen to his instructions. The king went to Nārada who instructed him in five things unobtained, e. g. absence of old age, death, decay, dissolution and disease. The king then became appeased and asked his treasurer to burn the dead body of

the queen; since then the king attended to his duties as usual (Aṅguttara Nikāya, III., pp. 57 foll).

Bhadda, a bhikkhu, who dwelt at Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra, went to Ānanda and asked him about abrahmacariya. Ānanda explained it as contrary to the noble eightfold path. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, V., pp. 15-16). He also asked Ānanda about brahmacariya and the end of brahmacariya which Ānanda explained (Ibid, p. 171). He also asked Ānanda about saddhamma which would not long stand after Buddha's death and vice versa, which Ānanda explained by saying that the bhikkhus did not meditate on four satipaṭṭhānas (S. N., V., p. 172).

As might be expected the Pāli-Buddhist literature has references to Pāṭaliputra, but as it had not grown up into a city in the life-time of the Buddha, it does not find so much mention as Rājagaha, the ancient capital of Magadha, or Vaiśāli, the headquarters of the Licchavis. As we have said before, it was being founded towards the end of the career of the Great Master. The upāsakas of Pāṭaligāma built an āvasathāgāra. They invited the Buddha on the occasion of the opening ceremony of it. They offered charities to the Buddha and his pupils. They received religious instructions from the Buddha on five kinds of rewards for observing the precepts (Vinayapiṭaka, I., pp. 226-228). Buddha pointed out five kinds of reward for the observance of precepts to the upāsakas of Pāṭaligāma (Udāna, p. 85 foll.). An influential brahmin householder of Benares named Ghoṭamukha paid a visit to Udena, a bhikkhu dwelling at a mango garden. Udena had a discussion about the four kinds of puggalas with Ghoṭamukha who was highly impressed by the teachings of Udena. Ghoṭamukha built a vihāra at Pāṭaliputra for Udena.

The vihāra is still called Ghoṭamukhi. (Majjhima Nikāya, II., pp. 157 foll.).

The heretical Nigaṇṭhas went to king Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputra, who was then a very powerful king of Jambudīpa. They complained to king Paṇḍu that king Guhasīva being a king subordinate to him (Paṇḍu) worshipped the bone of a dead person (that is the Buddha's relic) without worshipping Brahmā, Śiva and others whom he (Paṇḍu) worshipped and they further complained that Guhasīva ridiculed the deities worshipped by him (Paṇḍu). Hearing this, king Paṇḍu grew angry and sent one of his subordinate kings called Cittayāna with a four-fold army to arrest and bring Guhasīva with the tooth-relic. Cittayāna informed Guhasīva of his mission and Guhasīva welcomed him cordially, showed him the tooth-relic of the Buddha, and narrated to him the virtues possessed by it. Cittayāna became very much impressed by all that he had said and became a follower of the Buddha. Cittayāna then informed Guhasīva of the order of king Paṇḍu. Guhasīva with the tooth-relic on his head, followed by a large number of followers with valuable presents for king Paṇḍu, went to Pāṭaliputra. The Nigaṇṭhas requested king Paṇḍu not to offer any seat to Guhasīva and they also requested him to set fire to the tooth-relic. A big pit of burning charcoal was dug by the king's command and the heretics after taking away the tooth-relic, threw it into the fire. As soon as it came in contact with fire, fire became as cool as the winter breeze and a lotus blossomed in the fire and the tooth-relic seen placed inside the lotus. Seeing this wonder, many heretics gave up false belief but the king himself being a false believer for a long time, could not give up his heresy so easily and ordered that tooth-relic to be destroyed by stone but this also could not be done. The Nigaṇṭhas asked the

king not to attach great importance to the miracles as they were not unprecedented. The tooth-relic was put in a casket and the Niganthas were asked to take it out and throw it away but none could do so. The king declared that he who would be able to take out the tooth-relic, would be rewarded. Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson recollecting the virtues of the Buddha and the deeds done by his great grandfather for the Buddha was very glad when he heard of the declaration and went to take the tooth-relic out of the casket. He praised the tooth-relic much and then the tooth-relic rose up to the sky and then came down to rest on the head of the great grandson of Anāthapiṇḍika. The Niganthas told the king that owing to the influence of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson, the tooth-relic could rise up to the sky and come down to rest on his head. The Niganthas denied the influence of the tooth-relic which displayed various miracles according to the desire of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson. The tooth-relic was thrown into a moat. Cittayāna advised the king that he should follow the Dhamma of the Buddha because by worshipping the tooth-relic, Bimbisāra and other kings attained Nirvāna. Thus advised, he gave up his false belief and brought the tooth-relic with great pomp. King Guhasīva was cordially received by king Pāṇḍu and both of them did many meritorious deeds (See my Dāṭhāvaṁsa, Intro. pp. XII-XIV).

Pāṭaliputra Coins.

Pāṭaliputra coins had their own individual marks (Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 100). The discoveries of punch marked coins give a death-blow to the theory that all symbols on them "were affixed haphazard by shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed" and give rise to the incontestable conclusion that they constitute "coinages" peculiar to three different pro-

vincial towns, one belonging to Taxila, the second to Pāṭaliputra and the third to Vidisā (Bhilsā) of Central India (Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 99).

Ancient Monuments, etc.

The following are the interesting discoveries made by the Archæological Dept. of the Government of India on the site of Pāṭaliputra :—

1. Remains of wooden palisades at Lohanipur, Bulandibagh, Maharajganj and Mangle's tank.
2. Punch marked coins found at Golakpur.
3. Didarganj statue.
4. Durukhia Devi and Perso-Ionic capital.
5. The railing pillar probably belonging to the time of the Śungas.
6. Coins of Kushan and Gupta kings.
7. Votive clay tablet found near Purabdarwaza.
8. Remains of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monasteries at the time of Fā-Hien, the temples of Sthulabhadra and other Jaina temples and the temples of Choti and Bari Patan Devis. (Pāṭaliputra, by Manoranjan Ghosh, pp. 14-15).

Nālandā-Location.

Nālandā was a famous seat of learning in Ancient India. It was a village which Cunningham identifies with modern Baragaon, seven miles north of Rājgir in Behar (Cunningham's Ancient Geography, Ed. S. N. Majumdar, p. 537). Nālandā is mentioned in the Mahāvastu Avadāna as a very prosperous place at no great distance from Rājagriha. (Vol. III., p. 56).

University of Nālandā.

After the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, five kings, named Sakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgata Gupta, Bālāditya, and Vajra, built five saṅghārāmas or monasteries at Nālandā. Watters,

On Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 164-165. According to Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa the year 450 A. D. is the earliest limit which we can roughly assign to the royal recognition of Nālandā. (History of Indian Logic, pp. 514-515). According to Tibetan accounts, the quarter in which the Nālandā University, with its grand library, was located, was called Dharmagañja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnodadhi, and Ratnarañjaka, respectively. In Ratnodadhi, which was nine-storeyed, there were the sacred scripts called Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, and Tantrik works such as Samāja-Guhya, etc. (Ibid, p. 516). Dharmapāla, a native of Kañcipura in Drāviḍa (modern Conjeevaram in Madras) studied in the university of Nālandā and acquired great distinction. In course of time he became the head of the university. (History of Indian Logic p. 302; Beal's Records of the Western World, II. p. 110). Silabhadra, a brahmin by caste came of the family of the king of Samataṭa (Bengal). He was a pupil of Dharmapāla. In course of time he too became the head of the university. (Beal's R. W. W. II. p. 110). I-tsing who started for India in 671 A. D, arrived at Tamralipti at the mouth of the Hooghly in 673 A. D. He studied in Nālandā, the centre of Buddhist learning, at the east end of the Rājagaha Valley. (I-tsing's Records of the Buddhist Religion, Intro. p. XVII). He said that venerable and learned priests of the Nālandā monastery used to ride in sedan chairs but never on horseback. (I-tsing, Records of the Buddhist Religion, p. 30). The excellent account that I-tsing gives in his records of university life as he had lived it in India applies to Nālandā where he spent a number of years studying Buddhist literature.

The tradition was that in a mango wood to the south of Nālandā monastery was a tank the dragon of which was

Chinese account of Nālandā- Hiuen-Tsang.

called Nālandā and that his name was given to the monastery. But the facts of the case were that Ju-lai as a P'usa had once been a king with his capital here, that as king he had been honoured by the epithet Nālandā or "Insatiable in giving" on account of his kindness and liberality, and that this epithet was given as its name to the monastery. The grounds of the establishment were originally a mango park bought by 500 merchants for ten koṭis of gold coins and presented by them to the Buddha. Here soon after the decease of the Buddha, Śakrāditya, a former king of this country, esteeming the one Vehicle and reverencing the Three Precious Ones, built a monastery. (Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II., p. 164). Yuan Chwang does not accept the explanation of Nālandā which derives its name from that of the dragon of the tank in the Mango Park. He prefers the Jātaka story which refers the name to the epithet, "Insatiable in giving (na-alam-dā)" given to the Buddha in a former existence as king of this country. (Ibid, p. 166).

Nālandā was often visited by the Buddha as we find references to it in the Pāli-Buddhist literature. Once the

References to Nālandā in the Buddhist Literature.

Buddha started with the Bhikkhus from Rājagṛha for Nālandā. A paribrājaka named Suppiya followed him with his pupil. On the way the paribrājaka was blaming the Buddha and at the same time his pupil, Brahmadatta, was praising him. The Buddha dwelt at the king's palace in Ambalaṭṭhikā's garden. There the bhikkhus discussed about Suppiya blaming the Buddha and Brahmadatta praising him. The Buddha preached the Brahmajāla Sutta after hearing the subject of discussion from the bhikkhus. (Dīgha N., I., pp. 1 foll.). Again the Blessed One was once dwelling at the Pāvārika mango grove at Nālandā, a householder's

son went to the Buddha and described Nālandā as very prosperous, extensive and thickly populated. He further told him that all the people there had faith in the Buddha. The people of Nālandā would be greatly pleased if the Blessed One once asked one of the bhikkhus to perform a miracle and to show supernatural power. (Dīgha N., Vol. I., p. 211). The Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta informs us that when the Buddha was at Nālandā, Sāriputta went to see him. The Blessed One dwelt at the Pāvārika ambavana and held a comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren. (Dīgha N., Vol. II., pp. 81-84).

A householder named Upāli went to the Buddha when he was at Nālandā and asked him about the cause of the Parinirvāṇa of an arahat in this life which the Buddha explained. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, IV. p. 110). Again we read that when the Buddha was at Nālandā in the Pāvārika ambavana, Asivandakaputta, a village headman went to the Buddha and told him, "the brahmins by their mantras send dead men to heaven. Can you send them to heaven?" The Buddha replied, "Those who commit life-slaughter, theft, etc. cannot go to heaven." (S. N, IV., p. 311 foll). The village headman asked the Buddha, "Why are you not preaching Dhamma equally to all?" The Buddha replied by saying that one should sow seeds according to the fertility of the soil. (Ibid, pp. 314-317).

The Saṁyutta Nikāya further informs us that there was a road from Rājagaha to Nālandā. The Buddha took this road. Mahākassapa who was at first a follower of a heretical teacher met the Buddha for the first time while he was seated on the road between Rājagaha and Nālandā. He declared himself in the presence of the Buddha to be his follower (S. N., II., pp. 219 foll). The Majjhima Nikāya tells us that once Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta was at Nālandā with a big retinue

of the Nigaṇṭhas. A Jaina named Dīghatapassi went to the Buddha who was in the Pāvārika ambavana at Nālandā. Buddha asked Dīghatapassi as to the number of the Kammas which Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta pointed out in order to destroy sinful deeds. Upāli went to the Buddha and became converted after hearing the teachings of the Master. Many Nigaṇṭha sāvakas became converts. Buddha's gain and fame greatly increased. Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta vomitted hot blood not being able to withstand the gain and fame which the Buddha acquired. (M. N., Vol. I., pp. 371 foll.).

Nālandā in the Jaina Literature

Outside Rājagaha to the north-east there was Nālandā which contained many hundreds of buildings At Nālandā there was a householder named Lepa who was rich and prosperous. Lepa had a bathing hall which was beautiful and contained many hundreds of pillars. There was a park called Hastiyāma. Once Gautama Buddha lived at Nālandā. He had a discussion with Udaka, a nigaṇṭha and follower of Pārśva. He failed to accept Gautama's views as to the effect of Karma. (Jain Sūtras, S. B. E., II., pp. 419-420).

Odantapuri.

Besides Nālandā, Magadha had other great seats of Buddhist learning that attracted students from all parts of India and beyond, like the universities of Odantapuri and Vikramasīlā. In the 8th century A. D., Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, king of Bengal, founded a great monastery at Uddandapura or Otantapuri the existing town of Bihar (Smith, Early History of India, 4th Ed. p. 413; cf. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, p. 111).

As a university the glories of Vikramaśīlā were hardly inferior to those of Nālandā. Here came students from Tibet,

Vikramaśīlā.

and Tibetan works tell us how Dīpaṅkara or Śrijñāna Atīsa, a native of Bengal, who was at the head of the university at one time, was induced to go to Tibet and establish the Buddhist religion there (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I.).

The Vikramaśīlā Vihāra was a Buddhist University in the kingdom of Magadha. It is said to have been founded by Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty at the close of the 8th century A. D. It was a Buddhist monastery situated on a bluff hill on the right bank of the Ganges, in the kingdom of Magadha and had sufficient space within it for a congregation of 8,000 men with many temples and buildings. On the top of the projecting steep hill of Pātharghāṭā there are the remains of a Buddhist monastery and the space covered by the ruins is large enough to hold an assembly of many thousands of people and the Pātharghāṭā was a holy place of the Hindus in the 7th century A. D. This Pātharghāṭā was the ancient Vikramaśīlā. (J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. V., No. I., pp. 1-13). It is said to have included 107 temples and six colleges (Smith, Early History of India, 4th Ed., p. 414). In this university many commentaries were composed. It was a centre not only of tantric learning but of logic and grammar, and is interesting as showing the connection between Bengal and Tibet. Tibetans studied there and Sanskrit books were translated into Tibetan within its cloisters. (Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol, II., p. 111). Dharmapāla, the Gauḍa monarch, endowed the university with rich grants sufficing for the maintenance of 108 resident monks besides numerous non-resident monks and pilgrims. At the head of the university was always a most learned and pious sage. Thus at the time of Dharmapāla Ācārya Buddhajñānapāda directed the affairs of the University and during 1034-1038 Dīpaṅkara or Śrijñāna Atisa was at its head, and

Sthavīra Ratnākara was the superior of the monastery. Kamala Kulisā, Narendra Śrī-Jñāna, Dāna Rakṣita, Abhayakara Gupta, Subhākara Gupta, Sunāyakaśri, Dharmākaraśānti and Śākyaśri paṇḍita also belonged to this university. Grammar, metaphysics (including logic) and ritualistic books were specially studied at Vikramaśīlā. On the walls of the university were painted images of paṇḍitas eminent for their learning and character. The distinguished scholars of the university received a diploma of "paṇḍita" from the kings themselves. For instance the distinguished logicians, Ācārya Jetāri of Vārendra and Ratnavajra of Kashmira were granted such a diploma. The most erudite sages were appointed to guard the gates of the university. These were six in number, each of which had to be guarded by scholars designated "Gate-keepers".

The University of Vikramaśīlā is said to have been destroyed by the Mohammedan invader, Bakhtiar Khilji, about 1203, A. D. when Śākya Śrī Paṇḍita, of Kashmir was at its head. (Satish Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, History of Indian Logic, pp. 519-520).

On account of its predominant political position the language spoken in Magadha obtained recognition all over

Māgadhi language.

India in very early times. The Mahāvaṁsa goes so far as to tell us that the Māgadhi language is the root of all Indian languages (Anderson's Pāli Reader, pt. I., p. 114). At the time of Aśoka, as the numerous inscriptions scattered all over India show, the dialect of Magadha must have been understood over the greater part of India but in some details of grammar and phonetics Pāli differs from Māgadhi prākrit and seems to have been influenced by Sanskrit and western dialect. Being a literary rather than a popular language,

it was probably a mixed form of speech. (Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. I., p. 282). It was in this Māgadhi language that Buddhaghosa translated the Sinhalese commentaries on the Tripiṭaka (Sāsanavaṁsa, p. 28) in Ceylon where he went after leaving his native village near the Bodhi tree in Bodh Gayā (See my work, "The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa," p. 37).

Administrative & Political History of the Ancient Magadhas.

It was in or about the sixth century B. C. that the palmy period of many of the sixteen Mahājanapadas came to an end. The succeeding period witnessed the absorption of the states into a number of powerful kingdoms which ultimately formed one empire, viz., the empire of Magadha. Monarchical was the form of government in Magadha. The Rājā was the head of the state. He administered justice with the help of ministers and governed annexed countries with the help of viceroys.

The earliest history of Magadha can be traced as far back as the time of Vasu, the fourth successor of Kuru's son, Sudhanvan as we have shown in the Paurānic account in the first section. According to that account Vasu conquered the kingdom of Cedi and obtained the title, Caidyoparicara, 'the overcomer of the Caidyas'. He subdued and annexed the adjoining countries as far as Magadha. He had five sons who were known as the Vāsava kings. His eldest son was Bṛhadratha who took Magadha and founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty there. The greatest king of this dynasty was Bṛhadratha's son, Jarāsandha. He besieged Mathurā with a huge army of twenty-three akṣauhinīs (Harivaṁśa, ch. 195, śl. 3.), defeated many of the kings of northern India and kept them imprisoned in Girivraja (Mahābhārata, II., 14), and it is said in a temple of Śiva in order to sacrifice them to the God. (Ibid., II., 15). Jarāsandha exercised so

great power that without defeating him it would not be possible for Yudhiṣṭhira to assume the status of a paramount sovereign and perform the Rājasūya sacrifice (Ibid., II., 15 and 16); the great Pāṇḍavas fearing to meet him in open combat took to tricks in order to bring about the fall of the mighty Magadhan monarch. After his death at the wrestling encounter with Bhīmasena, the Pāṇḍavas set free all the imprisoned kings including some relatives of Kṛṣṇa who directed them to help the Pāṇḍavas in restoring peace and order in northern India. They placed Jarāsandha's son, Sahadeva on the throne (Ibid., II., 22); and this Sahadeva afterwards fought on their side at the great field of Kurukṣetra. (Ibid., V., 19, 50 & 57). A daughter of Jarāsandha was married to the youngest Pāṇḍava, Sahadeva. (Ibid., XV., 1).

The Bārhadratha dynasty was, according to the Purāṇas, followed by Śaiśunāga dynasty, established before 600 B. C. perhaps in 642 B. C. by a chieftain of Benares named Śiśunāga who fixed his capital at Girivraja or old Rājagṛha among the hills of the Gayā district. Śiśunāga was succeeded about 528 B. C. by the Buddha'a contemporary, Śrenika Bimbisāra, said to have been the fifth of his line. The Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṁsa, however, makes Śiśunāga the founder of a dynasty which succeeded that of Bimbisāra. The Purāṇas themselves state that Śiśunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas. (Vāyu Purāṇa, 99, 314). If this statement be true, then Śiśunāga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely, Caṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, who was, according to the early Pāli texts, a contemporary of Bimbisāra. But we have seen that the Purāṇas make Śiśunāga, an ancestor of Bimbisāra. Thus the Purāṇas in their present form are self-contradictory. (Rai Chaudhuri, p. 58 and his article on Seṇiya Bimbisāra, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. I No. 1, March 1925, p. 87.). The fact that Vārāṇasī was included

within Śiśunāga's dominions (Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 21) supports the view that Śiśunāga came after Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāśī. The Mālālankāravatthu (S. B. E., XI., p. XVI) tells us that Rājagṛha lost its rank as a royal city from the time of Śiśunāga. This also goes to show that Śiśunāga came after the flourishing days of Rājagṛha, i. e. the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru. Prof. Bhandarkar (Car. Lec. 1918) accepts the Ceylonese version and rejects the Pauranic account of Bimbisāra lineage. He makes Bimbisāra the founder of a dynasty, and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis. The Mahāvaṁsa, however, states (Geiger's translation, p. 12), that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old. Mr. Nundo Lal Dey mentions Bhāṭṭiya as the name of the father (J. A. S. B., 1914, 321) who was defeated by Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga. This defeat was, as we shall see later on, avenged by Bimbisāra (Rai Chaudhuri, Political History, pp. 58-59).

Bimbisāra.

Bimbisāra was so called because he was the son of Bimbi, Queen of king Mahapadma of Rājagṛha. (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 16). According to the commentary of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (I., p. 280), Bimbisāra was so named because his appearance was like that of gold (Bimbi = golden). He was also called Seniya because he had a large army (Mahatīyā Senāya Samannāgatā). Jaina works represent Bimbisāra as a Jaina by religion and sometimes he is coupled by Jain tradition with Asoka's grandson Samprati as a notable patron of the creed of Mahāvīra (Smith, Ancient & Hindu India, p. 45). He is said to have built the new Rājagṛha, the outer town to the north of the ring of hills encircling the ancient fort. He annexed to his kingdom, Aṅga, a small

kingdom to the east, corresponding with the modern district of Bhāgalpur and probably including Monghyr. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 31). The Mahāvagga (S. B. E., XVII, p. 1) offers a reasonable evidence to prove that the kingdom of Aṅga came under Bimbisāra's sway. The Sonadaṇḍa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, while mentioning the bestowal of Campā, the capital of Aṅga, as a royal fief on the Brāhmana Sonandaṇḍa, indubitably proves that Aṅga was annexed by Bimbisāra. The Jaina works[1] tell us that a Magadhan prince governed Aṅga as a separate province with Campā as its capital. "The annexation of Aṅga was the turning point in the history of Magadha." It marked "the first step taken by the kingdom of Magadha in its advance to greatness and the position of surpemacy which it attained in the following century, so that Bimbisāra may be regarded as the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the two neighbouring states, viz., Kośala and Vaiśālī. He took one consort from the royal family of Kośala and another from the influential Licchavi clan at Vaiśālī."[2] A third queen of Bimbisāra, as mentioned in the Therīgāthā Commentary (p. 131), was Khemā, daughter of the king Madda in the Punjab. The Mahāvagga says that Bimbisāra had 500 wives (VIII. i. 15). The Jātakas[3] tell us that Bimbisāra, married Mahākośala's daughter, Kośa-

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1. Hemchandra, Sthaviravalī; cf the Bhagavatī Sūtra and the Nirayāvalī Sūtra.
2. Smith, Early History of India, pp. 31-32. For a detailed critical account of Bimbisāra's marriage with a Licchavi girl and the parentage of the mother of Ajātasatru, see my Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, Ch. I., § VI., pp. 106-107 & Ch. III. p. 136.
3. Nos. 239, 283 & 492.

ladevī, who was given by her father a village of Kāśī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand, for bath and perfume money. Thus it is reasonable to hold that these diplomatic marriage relations were of great political importance for the history of Magadha. "They paved the way for the expansion of Magadha both westward and northward, and enabled Bimbisāra to add a part of Kāśī to his dominions and to launch Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga." The Vinayapiṭaka (I., p. 179) assures us, as we have already seen before, that Bimbisāra was the lord of 80,000 villages (gāmas). The Mahāvagga also states that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000 townships, the overseers (Gāmikas) of which used to meet in a grand assembly. (Rai Chaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 104, cf. Vinayapiṭaka, pt. II. p. i.). Bimbisāra had many sons, of whom we get the names of five in literature namely, Kunika Ajātaśatru, Abhaya[1], Vimala-Kondañña,[2] Vehalla and Sīlavat[3]; but he was not at all happy in his old age. He passed his last days in deep misery. He had the misfortune to lose his life at the hands of his son Ajātaśatru begotten on the Kośalan princess. Bimbisāra had, we are assured by some of the Buddhist writers, a premonition that his end would be brought about by his own son, but out of

1. For an account of the birth of Abhaya, son of Bimbisāra by a Licchavi woman, vide My work, "Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India," (chapt. I., § VI,, pp. 109-110). The son of Bimbisāra by Ambapāli, a courtesan of Vaiśālī, is called Vimala-Kondañña in Pāli literature and not Abhaya.
2. Psalms of the Sisters, p, 120; Psalms of the Brethren, p. 65.
3. Psalms of the Brethren, p. 269.

affection he could not take any step to avert this evil. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya has conjured up a myth in order to explain the conduct of the parricidal prince. He avers that Ajātaśatru was even before his birth an enemy of King Bimbisāra. The circumstances that preceded Ajātaśatru's birth and augured the impending evil, as recorded in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, were appalling. When the would-be parricide was in his mother's womb, the queen, it is said, felt a craving for sipping blood from the right arm of the king. She, however, dared not speak out her inhuman desire. Worried by this, she looked pale and emaciated. The king asked her the cause of her getting weak. At last she spoke out and the king then sent for his surgeon who drew blood out of his right arm for the queen. The blood was diluted with water and the queen was asked to drink up the horrible potion. The soothsayers, however, warned that the child would be an enemy to the king and would kill him in consequence of the queen's drinking the king's blood. The queen, horrified at the prospect, tried to effect miscarriage but she was prevented by the king who urged that such a sinful act would be abhorred by the people of Jambudīpa, and that voluntary abortion was against all national tradition of India. The queen, it is said, thought of destroying the child at the time of delivery. The attendants took away the child as soon as it came out of the mother's womb. When the child had grown up, he was presented before the queen whose maternal affection towards the lad got the upperhand and she could no longer think of killing him. In due course the king made him his viceregent. (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I., p. 134). Ajātaśatru is probably referred to in the Jaina works as a Magadhan prince acting as viceroy at Campā, the capital of Aṅga.[1] Devadat-

1. Vide ante p. 75.

ta, the recalcitrant cousin of the Buddha, is said to have performed a miracle and thereby succeeded in persuading Ajātaśatru to become his follower. It was he, it is said, who induced Ajātaśatru to torture his father Bimbisāra to death and to take up the reins of government in his own hands. During the life-time of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru was made king but at the instigation of Devadatta he killed his father, we are told, by starving him.[1] Ajātaśatru kept his father confined in a room which was very hot and full of smoke and none else was allowed to enter into that room except Ajātaśatru's mother who used to take some food for the unfortunate king but she was afterwards prevented from doing so. In spite of this she used to bring food for Bimbisāra concealing it in several parts of her body but she was found out and was ordered not to enter the room with any kind of food. Thenceforth she, the same account goes on, used to enter the king's apartment with her body besmeared with a mixture of honey butter, ghee and oil. Bimbisāra got some sustenance by licking her body. This too was detected by the ever vigilant Ajātaśatru and she was forbidden to enter the room and asked to see the king from outside. The queen now reminded Bimbisāra that it was she who had requested him to kill

1. The Vinaya (II. 490) gives a short account of an attempt made by Ajatasatru to kill his father with a sword, and in the concluding portion of the Samaññaphala Sutta, there is an allusion to the actual murder which he afterwards committed. (Digha Nikaya, I. p. 86). The details may or may not be true, but the fact that Bimbisara was put to death by Ajatasatru appears to have been an historical truth, the tradition is so very strong and persistent with regard to this matter. According to the Ceylonese Chroniclers this event took place eight years before the death of Buddha, at the time when Bimbisara had been on the throne for fifty-two years. (Dipavamsa, III, 50 60; Mahavamsa II., 28-31).

Ajātaśatru while in the womb. She further told him that it was the last occasion on which she had been permitted to meet him and she begged his pardon and took leave. (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pp. 135-136). Bimbisāra was now prevented from taking any food but he was still alive and the commentator informs us that the inhuman practices of Ajātaśatru increased in their barbarity. Bimbisāra, it is said, was meditating on the fruition of the path and was walking up and down and his appearance became very bright. Ajātaśatru was informed of this and he ordered that his walking up and down must be stopped and ordered his barber to go and cut the feet of his father and to put salt and oil thereupon and then to heat them on the fire of Khadira charcoal. The barber went to Bimbisāra who thought that his son had come to realise his folly and had become kind to him. The barber when asked by the king about his mission, intimated to him the order of king Ajātaśatru. The barber carried out, we are told, the ghastly operations required by the royal order. Bimbisāra breathed his last with the words, "Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha." After death the same commentary informs us, Bimbisāra was reborn in the Cātummahārājika heaven as an attendant of Vessavana named Janavasabha. (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I., p. 137)

Ajātaśatru.

On the day Bimbisāra died, a son was born to Ajātaśatru. Two reports conveying the news of the death of his father and the birth of his child were received by his ministers at the same time. The ministers first of all handed over the letter conveying the news of the birth of his child to king Ajātaśatru. On receipt of the letter the king's mind was filled with filial affection and at that moment all the virtues of his father rose up before his mind's eye and he

realised that similar filial affection arose in his father's mind when the latter received the news of his (Ajātaśatru's) birth. Ajātaśatru at once ordered the release of his father but it was too late. The ministers handed over the other letter and on hearing of his father's death, he cried and went to his mother and asked the mother whether his father had any affection for him. The mother replied, "when a boil appeared on your finger, you were crying and none could pacify you and you were taken to your father when he was administering justice at the royal court. Your father out of affection put your finger with the boil into his mouth and the boil was burst open. Out of filial affection he swallowed up the blood and pus instead of throwing them away." Ajātaśatru heard this and wept hot tears. The dead body of his father was burnt. Shortly afterwards Devadatta went to Ajātaśatru and urged him to order his men to go and kill the Buddha also. Devadatta sent Ajātaśatru's men to kill the Master and himself took several steps to bring about his death. He himself went to the top of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain and hurled at the Buddha a big stone, then he set the mad elephant Nālagiri against the Enlightened One but all his attempts were baffled. All his gain and fame were lost, and he became very miserable (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I.. pp 138-139). After Ajātaśatru murdered his father, Kośaladevī died of grief. After her death Ajātaśatru enjoyed the revenues of the Kāśī village. But Pasenadi, king of Kośala determined that no parricide should enjoy a village which was his by right of inheritance and made war upon Ajātaśatru. The result was that sometimes the king of Kośala won, and sometimes the king of Magadha. Once the Kośalan monarch was defeated and had to save his life by fleeing away from the field of battle. At last as the result of another combat he succeeded in taking Ajātaśatru prisoner

and gave his daughter Vajirā in marriage to his captive nephew. The Kāśī village was given to Vajirā. Thus Kāśī once again came under the sway of Ajātaśatru, and the two kingdoms Magadha and Kośala were once more closely united by matrimonial alliance. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, I., 82-85).[1] Ajātaśatru afterwards succeeded not only in permanently annexing Kāśī but he also absorbed the land of the Licchavis.[2] What Ajātaśatru seems to have succeeded in doing was, that the Licchavis had to accept his suzerainty and pay him revenue, but they must have been independent in the matter of internal management and maintained in tact the ancient democratic institutions of personal liberty. In the Uvāsagadasāo Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of two deadly weapons, the Mahāsilākaṇṭaga and Rahamusala in his war with the Licchavis. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which hurled big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which by running about, effected a great execution on men. (Hoernle's Ed., Vol. II., App. p. 60). The Rahamusala may be compared to the tanks used in the Great European war. (Rai Chaudhuri, Political History, p. 107).

Territorial expansion could neither satisfy Ajātaśatru nor bring peace to his perturbed mind. Since taking away the life of his father Ajātaśatru had not had sound sleep. He used to dream dreadful dreams while asleep. He devised means of spending the night without sleep. On one occasion the whole of Rājagaha was illumined and deco-

1. cf. Vaddhaki-sukara, Kumma Sapinda, Taccha-sukara and the Bhaddasala Jatakas.
2. For a detailed account of the war with the Licchavis, see my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India" Ch. I., § VI., pp 111-116.

rated and was full of festivities and enjoyments. Ajātaśatru with his ministers went on the terrace and saw the festivities going on in the city so that he might not fall asleep. The moon-lit night by its soft beauty elevated his soul and he declared that the moon-lit night was really very pleasing. The thought arose within him of approaching a Samaṇa or a Brāhmaṇa who could bring solace to his tortured mind. (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I., 141-142). Hearing of the great virtues of the Buddha from Jīvaka, the greatest physician of the day, Ajātaśatru came to the ambavana where the Enlightened One was staying though he was much afraid of the Master for his (Ajātaśatru's) many mischievous deeds against the latter (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I., 151-152). Ajātaśatru asked the Blessed One whether he could show him the effect of leading the life of a Samaṇa. The Buddha did so by delivering to the repentant king a discourse on various virtues of the Samaṇa or ascetic life as narrated in the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya. (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt, I., pp. 158 foll). The Blessed One passed away, Buddhaghosa informs us in his commentary on the Vinayapitaka, in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign. (Samantapāsādikā, I., p. 72).

After the Buddha's parinirvāṇa in the forest of the Mallas between the twin sāla trees, his relics were distributed as we learn from the Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta. Ajātaśatru got a share and enshrined it with great respect and honour and then instituted a worship of the same on a very grand scale. (Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu, pp. 212-215). He built Dhātu Caityas all round Rājagaha, his capital city. (Mahāvamsa, p. 247), and at his own cost, repaired eighteen mahāvihāras at Rājagaha, deserted by the bhikkhus after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. (Samantapāsādikā, Vol. I., pp. 9-10). The Vinaya commentary also informs us that

he reigned for twenty-four years. (Samantapāsādikā, pp. 72-73). He had to share the same miserable fate with his father. He was put to death by his son Udāyi Bhadda. (Mahāvaṁsa, ch. iv).

Ajātaśatru was, according to the genealogical lists given in the Purāṇas, succeeded by Darśaka. The existence of

Darśaka.

Darśaka was doubted by some historians; but the discovery of Bhāsa's Svapnāvāsavadattā revealed the reality of the existence of a Magadhan king named Darśaka. This interesting drama, however, makes no mention whatsoever of any fact that may lead us to believe that Darśaka succeeded Ajātaśatru on the throne. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with Nāga Dāsaka who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisāra's line. The Pāli Canon and Jaina tradition do not warrant us in holding that Darśaka was the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru. The former

Udāyi Bhadda.

asserts beyond the range of doubt that Udāyi Bhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor, and the latter (Jacobi, Pariśiṣṭaparvan, p. 42) represents Udāyi as the immediate successor of Kunika Ajātaśatru. The Ceylonese Chronicles[1] also inform us that Udāyi Bhadda succeeded his father Ajātaśatru on the throne. This is confirmed by the Samantapāsādikā (p. 72) and the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Vol. I. pp. 153-154). In the face of so much clear evidence from these independent sources, it is reasonable to hold that Udāyi Bhadda was the son and successor of Ajātaśatru. Before his accession to the throne, Udāyi Bhadda seems to have acted as his father's viceroy at Campā. (Jacobi, Pariśiṣṭaparvan, p. 42). The Jain work Pariśiṣṭaparvan tells us that

1. Dīpavamsa, V., 97; Mahāvamsa, IV., 1.

it was Udāyin who founded on the bank of the Ganges a new capital which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra, though the first beginning of a garrison town appears to have been made when the Buddha was living. The Vāyu Purāna bears testimony to this fact and says that Udaya built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign. (Rai Chaudhuri, Political History, p. 109; cf. Vincent Smith, Early History of India, p. 39). It was Udāyi, as we see from the Pariśiṣṭaparvan, who transferred the capital to Pāṭaliputra. Udayabhadda reigned for sixteen years. (Samantapāsādikā, pp. 72-73). His successors, according to the Puranās, were Nandivardhan and Mahānandin. The Purāṇa account, however, does not tally with the Samantapāsādikā (Vol. I. pp. 72-73) which tells us that Udāyi Bhadda was succeeded by his son Anuruddha who reigned for 18 years. Anuruddha's son, Muṇḍa succeeded his father and reigned for the same period. Then came Nāga Dāsaka who reigned for 24 years. Nāga Dāsaka was banished by the citizens who anointed the minister named Śuśunāga king. The object of the people for banishing the Bimbisarian dynasty and installing a minister on the throne was most probably due to the fact that the people became intolerant of the perpetration of the parricides which, as we read in the Ceylonese Chronicle, Mahāvamsa (IV. 1), all the Magadhan kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāga Dāsaka were guilty of. Śiśunāga reigned for 18 years. He was followed by his son Kālāsoka who reigned for 28 years. Kālāsoka had ten sons who ruled for 22 years (cf. Dīpavamsa, V).

Nanda dynasty

Then came in succession the nine Nandas who took possession of the Magadha throne and are said to have reigned for 22 years (Samantapāsādikā, 72, cf. Mahāvamsa, ch. IV.). According to the Purāṇas, the first king and founder of the

Nanda dynasty was Mahāpadma Nanda, son of Mahānandin by a Sūdra woman. He usurped the throne of Magadha in or about 372 B. C. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 39). We learn from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Kāmandaka's Nitisāra, the Purāṇas and the Mudrārākṣasa that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya with the help of his wise and famous minister, Kauṭilya.

Chandragupta Maurya

Chandragupta was the son of the chief queen of the Moriyan king of Pipphalivana[1] and founder of the Imperial Maurya dynasty of Magadha. He was advised by his minister Kauṭilya to seek the help of the Licchavis who were then living under a saṅgha form of government. The Licchavis though they might have been forced by Ajātaśatru to acknowledge the suzerainty of Magadha, yet enjoyed a great deal of independence under Chandragupta. Chandragupta appears to have liberated the Punjab from foreign rule. He inherited from his Nanda predecessor a huge army which he increased until it numbered 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants 600,000 infantry, and a multitude of chariots. With this irresistible force, he overran and subdued all the northern states, probably as far as the Narbadā, or even farther. (Smith, Early History of India. p 118). Plutarch (Alex. LXII) tells us that he brought under his sway the whole of India. Justin also holds the same view and says that Chandragupta was in possession of India. Vincent Smith holds that "the dominions of Chandragupta, the first historical paramount sovereign or Emperor in India, extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea." (Smith, Early History of India p. 118). Justin (Watson's Edition, p. 143) informs us that while India was under Chandragupta, Seleukos (Seleucus), a

1. Vide my work, "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India p. 123.

general of Alexander, was laying the foundation of his future greatness. He made an expedition into India in or about 305 B. C. Appianus says that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of the Indians, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 114). The hosts of Chandragupta, however, proved too strong for the invader to overcome and Seleukos was perforce obliged to retire and conclude a humiliating peace. This treaty may be dated in or about 303 B. C. It was ratified by a 'matrimonial alliance' which phrase is taken to mean that Seleukos gave a daughter to Chandragupta. Seleukos had not only to abandon all thought of conquest in India but he was also compelled to surrender a large part of Ariāna to the west of the Indus. In exchange for the comparatively trifling equivalent of five hundred elephants, Chandragupta received the Satrapies of the Paropanisadai, Aria, and Arachesia, the capitals of which were known as Kabul, Herat and Kandahar respectively. The Satrapy of Gedrosia with its capital Makran seems also to have been ceded. (Smith, Early History, p. 119). The Inscriptions of Aśoka prove the inclusion of the Kabul Valley within the Maurya empire. After the war the Syrian and Indian emperors lived on friendly terms. Seleukos sent an envoy named Megasthenes to Chandragupta's court. Megasthenes stayed at Patna for a considerable time and wrote a history of India. Unfortunately this great work which would have been invaluable for the ancient history of India has been lost. The fragments which survive in quotations by later authors like Strabo, Arrian and others, have been collected by Schwanbeck, and tralated by M'Crindle. A great soldier and conqueror as Candragupta admittedly was, he was no less great as an administrator. We get a beautifully complete and detailed account of

the system of administration in vogue in his time from Kauṭilya's Arthaśastra, and the few fragments that have survived of Megasthenes amply corroborate the picture drawn from the work of the astute minister of the first Mauryan monarch. The edicts of Aśoka again confirm in many respects the particulars of the organisation of the empire given by the famous Indian statesman and the distinguished Greek envoy. The supreme government,it appears from Kauṭilya's work, consisted of two main parts: (1) The Rājā, on the one hand, and (2) the Mahāmātras, Amātyas or Sacīvas on the other. At the head of the state was the Rājā or sovereign, who had military, judicial, legislative as well as executive functions but he was never the spiritual head as has been the case with some countries in Europe. In addition to the mantras there was the Mantriparisad or Assembly of Imperial Councillors. In several passages of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra the mantrins are sharply distinguished from the Mantriparisad. (cf. pp. 20, 29, 247). The members making up the latter body evidently occupied an inferior position, their salary being 12,000 paṇas, while that of a mantri was 48,000 paṇas.[1] A detailed account of the constitution and administration of the Magadhan empire under Chandragupta is, as has been said before, given in the fragments of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya's Arthaśastra. The former incomplete as they are, have rendered a valuable service to the history of India. The latter has been an important source of the political history of Ancient India at least about the fourth century B. C. when the work was written according to the majority of scholars. It has been so largely utilised by scholars that any attempt to present anew an account of Chandragupta's government would be futile and a mere repetition of what has already been said on the subject. The

1. Rai Chaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India p. 148.

Early History of India[1] and the Political History of Ancient India[2] give us a systematic and critical account of the government of the great Maurya Emperor and the recent work of Jayaswal on Hindu Polity which has drawn not a little on Kauṭilya's book, has thrown a flood of light on many an obscure point of ancient Indian statecraft and administration.

Historians differ in presenting an account of the last days of Chandragupta. According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta abdicated the throne and became a Jain ascetic. He is said to have repaired to Mysore where he died. (Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, pp. 3-4). Vincent Smith is not certain whether Chandragupta abdicated the throne or died in 298 B. C. as he says "Chandragupta either abdicated or died in the year 298 B. C."[3] although he is disposed to believe the truth of the Jain tradition in its main outline.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra. The latter was surnamed Amritaghāta (slayer of foes), a form which is quoted, perhaps with reference to this king, in the grammatical work of Patañjali.[4] It is uncertain whether he earned, or merely assumed, his sobriquet. The Purāṇas attribute to Bindusāra a reign of twenty-five years while the Ceylonese Chroniclers aver that he sat on the throne for twenty-eight years. The Samantapāsādikā,[5] on the other hand, says that he ruled for eighteen years only.

According to Smith's Chronology, Bindusāra's reign terminated about 273 B. C. (Aśoka, p. 73). The Divyāvadāna

1. From 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan conquest including the invasion of Alexander the Great by Vincent A. Smith.
2. From the accession of Parikṣita to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty by Hem Chandra Rai Chaudhuri.
3. V. Smith, Early History of India, p. 146.
4. Mahābhāṣya, III., 2, 88.
5. Vol. 1., p. 73.

tells us that Taxila revolted during his reign and that Bindusāra sent his son Aśoka to quell the rebellion. While the prince approached near Taxila with his troops, all disturbance was allayed. The people came out to meet him and said, "We are not opposed to the prince nor even to the king Bindusāra, but the wicked ministers insult us." Aśoka alludes to the high-handedness of the Maurya officials in his Kaliṅga Edict. (Aśoka, 3rd Edition, pp. 194-195). Nothing of political importance is known to have happened during Bindusāra's reign but it is clear that he maintained in tact the dominions inherited from Chandragupta. The friendly relation between India and the Hellenistic powers, which had been initiated by his great father Chandragupta and the Greek empire-builder Seleukos, continued unbroken throughout his reign. (Smith, Early History, of India, pp. 146-147).

Aśoka.

Bindusāra was succeeded by his son Aśoka who won the undivided sovereignty over all Jambudīpa after slaying his brothers except Tissa. Aśoka reigned without coronation for four years.[1] Then he consecrated himself as king in the city of Pāṭaliputra. He assumed the title of Devānampiya (cf., Rock. Ed., Ch. VIII) and loved to speak of himself as Devānampiyadasi. The name Aśoka is found only in literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, viz., Maski Edict of Aśoka himself, and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. Aśoka was at first called Caṇḍāsoka on account of his evil deeds. Later on he became known as Dhammāsoka on account of his meritorious deeds. (Mahāvamsa Ch. v.). The Sārnath Inscription of Kumāradevī mentions the name Dharmāsoka. "During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka appears to have followed the traditional

1. Samantapāsādikā, I. p. 41.

Maurya policy of expansion within India and of friendly co-operation with foreign powers." He continued the Council Government of his predecessors. The inscriptions bear ample testimony to the fact that Aśoka retained also the system of provincial administration in vogue under his forefathers. The emperor and the princes who often acted as viceroys in charge of the provinces were helped by a number of officials who according to the Edicts may be classed as (1) The Mahāmātras, (2) The Rājūkas, (3) The Prādesikas, (4) The Yutas (the Yuktas of the Arthaśāstra, p 59), (5) Pulisā, (6) Paṭivedakā and (7) Vachabhumikā. In the thirteenth year of his reign he conquered the kingdom of the Three Kalingas or Kalinga and annexed it to his empire. The annexation of Kalinga like that of Anga by Bimbisāra was a great landmark in the history of Magadha and of India. But the unavoidable heavy loss of life and property involved in the conquest of Kalinga made a deep impression on him and awakened in him feeling of profound compunction and sorrow. About this time he appears to have come under the influence of Buddhist teachers. His mind turned towards the zealous protection of the Law of Piety as is evidenced by his rock Edicts. This opened a new era—an era of peace and kindness to all animate beings, of social progress, of religious propaganda, and marked the close of a career of conquest and aggressiveness. "The martial spirit of Magadha began to die out for want of exercise." Thus came to an end the era of political "dīgvijaya" begun by his mighty grandfather giving place to the sacred "era of Dhammavijaya" or conquest by spiritual force of non-violence. Aśoka appears to have embraced Buddhism. This change of religion after the Kalinga war resulted in the change of the monarch's internal as well as foreign policies. He maintained friendly relations with the south Indian

and the Hellenistic powers. He renounced once for all the old policy of violence, of conquering peoples, suppressing revolt by force and annexing territory. In Edict IV. he says with a spirit of exultation, "the reverberation of the war drums (Bherighoso) has become the reverberation of the Law (Dhammaghoso)." He called upon his future successors—sons and grandsons even to shun new conquests. This change of policy darkened the political horizon of the Magadhan empire in its heyday. Magadha which before Bimbisāra was merely a tiny state in South Bihar, had during the interval from the time of Bimbisāra to the Kalinga war of Aśoka expanded to a gigantic empire from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of Tamil country. After the Kalinga war the political destiny of Magadha was reversed. The empire gradually became smaller and smaller till it sank to its pre-Bimbisarian area and position.

Pusyamitra Śunga.

Aśoka was succeeded by Daśaratha who was followed by a succession of weak Maurya kings who had only a vestige of the great power that Aśoka wielded. Brihadratha the last scion of the Maurya dynasty, was treacherously assassinated by his commander-in-chief, Pusyamitra Śunga, who established himself upon the throne of his master and set up the Śunga dynasty. The Divyāvadāna (p. 434) tells us that the Emperor continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. Pusyamitra ruled over Magadha for 36 years from about 185 to 149 B. C. During his reign the Mantriparisad (Assembly of Councillors) continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery. The viceregal princes were assisted by parisads. (Rai Chaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 210). The historical events worth mentioning during Pusyamitra's reign were the

Vidarbha war and the Greek invasion. The former resulted in the splitting up of the kingdom of Vidarbha into two states between which the river Varadā formed the boundary. The latter is referred to in Patañjali's Mahābhāśya and Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram. Unfortunately the name of the Greek invader is not given in either of these works. Historians differ as to the identity of the invader but they agree that he was a Bactrian Greek. Dr. Rai Chaudhuri in his Political History of Ancient India adduces strong evidence to identify Demetrius with the Yavana invader referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa (p. 209). Puṣyamitra died in or about 149 B. C. after a reign of 36 years as the Purāṇas affirm. He was followed by nine kings who ruled for 76 years. The Śuṅga dynasty probably lasted for 112 years. The last of the Śuṅga monarchs was Devabhûti who was a young and dissolute prince. The Purāṇas state that he was overthrown by his minister Vāsudeva Kānva. Rapson[1] says that the Śuṅgas were a military power but in later times they became puppets in the hands of their Brahman councillors. They probably ruled originally as feudatories of the Mauryas at Vidisā, the modern Besnagar, on the Vetravatī (Betwa) near Bhilsa and about 120 miles east of Ujjain. The Śuṅga dynasty probably came to an end about 73 B. C. and was succeeded by the Kānva dynasty which lasted till 27 B. C. Then rose the Andhras into power. For sometime Pāṭaliputra may have acknowledged their supremacy but later on it must have re-asserted its independence. After the Andhra dynasty the history of Pāṭaliputra merges into oblivion.

At the beginning of the fourth century A. D. the Magadhan monarchy again rose into prominence under

1. Cambridge History of India, ch. XXI, pp. 522-523.

Gupta dynasty -Candragupta.

the great Guptas. Candra Gupta[1], son of Ghaṭotkacha, was the first independent sovereign (Mahārājādhirāja) who ascended the throne in 320 A. D., the initial date of the Gupta Era. Like Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis[1] of Vaiśālī, who appear to have continued to occupy an influential position in northern India, though for a time their glory was eclipsed by the rising state of Magadha. He laid the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. The union of Candra-Gupta I with the Licchavis is commemorated by a series of coins and the Allahabad inscription. Candragupta's position was elevated through his Licchavi connections from the rank of a local chief. His son and successor often felt pride in describing himself as the son of the daughter of the Licchavis. Before his death his son by the Licchavi princess, Samudraguta, was selected by him as his successor. It is clear from the Allahabad praśasti and from the epithet 'tatparigṛhita' applied to Samudragupta in other inscriptions that the prince was selected from among his sons by Candra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. It was the aim of Samudragupta to bring about the political unification of India and to make himself an Ekarāṭ over this united empire. But his only permanent annexation was that of portions of Āryāvarta the Gangetic plain.[2] Samudragupta made the rulers of the Āṭavika rājyas his servants, led an expedition to the south and made his power felt by the powerful rulers of Eastern Deccan. Here he defeated the kings but following the

1. For a critical account of the relation between the Licchavis and the Imperial Guptas, See My "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, ch. VI., pp. 117-120.
2. Rai Chaudhuri, Political History of India, p. 273.

pre-Mauryan Hindu policy he did not annex their territory. According to Dr. Fleet, the Āṭavika rājyas were closely connected with Ḍabhāla (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. p. 114), i. e., the Jabbalpur region (Epigraphia Indica, VIII, pp. 284-287). The Eran inscription of Samudra Gupta bears testimony to the conquest of this region and to the fact that the Vākāṭakas of Western Deccan were deprived of their possessions in Central India by the Emperor. (Rai Chauḍhuri, Political History, p. 278). The kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha who came into conflict with the great Gupta Conqueror were Mahendra of Kośala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Mantarāja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Pishṭapura and of Kaṭṭūra on Mahendragiri, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi, Nilarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengī, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura, (Ibid, p. 275). The tribal states of the Punjab, Western India and Malwa are also said to have gratified his imperious commands (Prachaṇḍa Śāsana) " by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance. " The most important among the East Indian frontier kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samatata (part of East Bengal bordering on the sea), Davāka (not satisfactorily identified) and Kāmarūpa (in Assam) (Ibid, p. 278). The Dāmodarpur plates inform us that Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta Empire and was governed by a line of Uparika Mahārājas as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The dominion under the direct Government of Samudra Gupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile provinces of Northern India. It extended from the Brahmaputra on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west and from the foot of the Himalayas on the

north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rajputana and Malwa, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irrestible might. (Smith, Early History of India, 4th Edition, p. 303). The exact year of Samudra Gupta's death is not yet ascertainable. Dr. Rai Chaudhuri holds that he died some time after 375 A. D. (Political History, of India p. 282). He was succeeded by his son Candra Gupta II born of Queen Dattadevī. He assumed the title of Vikramāditya, ('Sun of Power'). He was also called Siṁhacandra and Siṁha Vikrama. Certain Vākaṭaka inscriptions and the Sāñchi Inscription of 412 A. D. name him as Devagupta or Devarāja. (Indian Antiquary, 1913, p. 160).

The greatest military achievement of Candragupta Vikramāditya was his advance to the Arabian Sea through Malwa and Gujrat and his subjugation of the peninsula of Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar governed for centuries by rulers known to European scholars as Saka Satraps. (Smith, Early History of India, 4th Edition, p. 307). As a result of the Western expedition Mālwa and Surāṣṭra were added to the Gupta dominions. There was another event of political importance, viz, the Emperor's matrimonial alliance with Vākātaka, king of the Deccan, established by the Emperor's giving his daughter named Prabhāvāti in marriage to King Rudrasena II, son of Prithvisena I. The original capital of Magadha under the Emperor Candragupta II was Pāṭaliputra but after his western conquests Ujjain was made a second capital. Dr. Smith

says, "Ajodhyā enjoyed a more favourable situation and appears to have been at times the headquarters of the government of both Samudra Gupta and his son, the latter of whom probably had a mint for copper coins there. There is reason to believe that during the fifth century Ajodhyā rather than Pāṭaliputra, was the premier city of the Gupta empire." (Smith, Early History of India, 4th Edition, p. 310). Towards the latter end of Candragupta's reign Pāṭaliputra was neglected in favour of Ajodhyā. Detailed information regarding the administrative history of the Magadhan Empire under Candragupta II is not available but the narrative of Fā-Hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered throw much light on the character of Candragupta Vikramāditya's administration, and the social and religious condition of India at the time. The Rājā was the head of the state. He was apparently nominated by his predecessor, primogeniture and capacity, both being taken into consideration in the selection that was made. A body of high ministers whose office was very often hereditary used to assist him. There was no distinction between civil and military officials. After Candragupta II, the Gupta power in Magadha was temporarily eclipsed by the Puṣyamitras (Rai Chaudhuri, Political History of India p. 288). Then followed the Hūna invasion in which the emperor Skandagupta, according to Dr. Rai Chaudhuri, (Ibid., p. 263) was presumably victorious and according to Smith, was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule, and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners. (Early History of India, 4th Edition, p. 328). The Hūna invasion, it may be held, must have completed the ruin of Magadha. But the empire did not wholly perish on the death of Emperor Skandagupta. It was ruled by Puragupta, Narasimhagupta

Kumāragupta II and Buddhagupta. Then the imperial line passed on to a dynasty of eleven Gupta princes known as the "Later Gupta monarchs of Magadha." The Damodarpur plates, Sarnath inscriptions, the Eraṇ epigraph of Buddhagupta and the Betul plates of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṁkshobha dated in the year 518 A.D. testify to the fact that the Gupta empire continued to exert sovereign rights in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. In the first half of the seventh century Harṣa, the great Kanouj monarch, overshadowed the Gupta power which was revived by Ādityasena, who assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭakāra and Mahārājādhirāja. Ādityasena and his successors, as proved by Aphsaḍ and Deo-Baraṇark inscriptions, were the only North-Indian sovereigns who laid claim to the imperial dignity during the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. and appear actually to have dominated Magadha and Madhyadeśa. The last king of the line of Ādityasena was Jivitagupta II who reigned early in the eighth century A.D. About this time the throne of Magadha was occupied by a Gauḍa king named Gopāla, as the Pāla inscriptions seem to indicate. (See Smith, Early History of India, 4th Edition, p. 413). Now the great Magadhan empire decayed politically being included in the Gauḍa empire of the Pālas and Senas but it continued to remain centre and head quarters of Buddhist learning up to the time of the Muhammadan conquests at the close of the twelfth century when the monasteries with their well-stocked libraries were reduced to ashes. (Ibid., p. 420).

Chapter V

THE BHOJAS

The Bhojas appear to have been a tribe of Central India. The term *Bhoja* appears to be mentioned in the Ṛgveda though many scholars do not consider it to be a tribal name there; Sāyaṇa also explains it otherwise. (III. 53, 7). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14) speaks of monarchs of the south who were called Bhojas and whose subjects were called Satvats. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an aśvamedha sacrifice are referred to. These Satvats, according to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, must have lived near Bharata's realm, i.e., near the Ganges and the Yamunā (*Cf* Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII., 5.4.11.). But in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which is considered by scholars to have been composed earlier than the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa they are found in the south. Therefore it is likely that they had spread over central and southern India in very early times. This account of the Satvats and Bhojas, deduced from the Brahmanical statements, accords strickingly with the Pauranic evidence.

Account of the Bhojas in the Brāhmana literature.

In the great Epic the Bhojas are declared to have been descended from Druhyu, the third son of Yayāti, the great ancestor of the Kuru-Pāṇḍavas. When King Yayāti proposed to have Druhyu's youth transferred to himself but was unceremoniously refused, he cursed the latter in these words, " O Druhyu, you are sprung from my heart but you refuse to give me your youth. Therefore, your

The Bhojas in the Mahābhārata.

cherished wishes will never be fulfilled. You shall be a king only in name. You shall rule over a region where there will be no roads, no passages for either horses or horse-drawn excellent chariots, nor for elephants, asses, goats, bullocks, palanquins and other good vehicles, where the only means of locomotion will be rafts and floats. In such a place will you have to live and with all your family you will get the designation of Bhoja and there will never be a Rājā amongst you (arājā Bhoja-śabdaṁ tvaṁ tatra prāpsyasi sānvayaḥ)" (Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 84, 20-22, Vaṅgavāsī edition). In the chapter following the one from which we have quoted, it is also said that Druhyu's children were the Bhojas (Druhyoḥ sutāstu vai Bhojāḥ-Ibid, ch. 85, verse 34).

Though the Bhojas are condemned in the above passages, yet there appears to have been very cordial relations between the Bhojas, the descendants of the condemned Druhyu and the Pauravas, the children of Puru, Yayāti's obedient and favourite son from whom the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas traced their descent. Thus we find that when Arjuna in the course of his expedition of pilgrimage went to Dvārakā, the Bhojas and their allied tribes, the Vrishṇis and Andhakas hurried to have a look at the geat Pāṇḍava hero as he marched along the road (Bhoja-Vrishṇyan-dhakānāñca samavāyo mahānabhūt-Ibid, Ādiparva, ch. 218, verse 18). We are also told in the next verse that he was welcomed and honoured by the young men of his own age among the Bhojas, Vrishṇis and Andhakas and went to take up his residence in the house of Krishṇa who also evidently belonged to these people. (Ibid, verses 19-21). In the next Chapter also we meet with an account of festivities celebrated by the Bhoja-Vrishṇi-Andhakas on the hill of

Mahendra. (Ibid, ch. 219, verse 2ff.) and in this chapter there are statements showing that Ugrasena, Vasudeva and therefore also Krishṇa were Vrishṇis, (see verses 8 and 19) and Subhadrā, Krishṇa's sister, is called Vārshṇeyī that is, a Vrishṇi girl. In the next chapter again, we are told that when the report of the abduction of Subhadrā was proclaimed at the assembly of the allied tribes, then the Bhojas along with the Vrishṇis and the Andhakas took arms to recover the princess from the hands of the audacious abductor (Ibid, ch. 220, verses 12 and 32). In the next chapter again we are told Krishṇa accompanied by a host of Bhoja-Vrishṇi-Andhakas paid a visit to Indraprastha when Arjuna returned there after his prescribed period of exile of twelve years (Ibid, ch. 221, verse 33) and we are further told that Krishṇa paid a formal visit to the Pāṇḍava king attended by Vrishṇis, Andhakas and also the Bhojas (verse 38), and made over to him a magnificent nuptial present.

That the Bhojas formed a confederacy for offensive and defensive purposes with the Vrishṇis, the Andhakas and also the Yādavas appears from many passages in the Mahābhārata. They were evidently descended from the same main stock and were therefore bound up together by consanguinity as well as mutual interest. Beside the passages that we have already quoted, the group Bhoja-Vrishṇi-Andhaka is mentioned in all parts of the great Epic. Thus we find in the Vanaparva that the prominent warriors of the Vrishṇis, Bhojas and Andhakas are mentioned together (ch. 120); in the Virāṭaparva we are told that a large crowd of Vrishṇis, Andhakas and Bhojas followed Krishṇa to Dvārakā (Ch. 72), and an exactly similar statement is made in the Udyogaparva (ch. 7); in another chapter of the same book the same group is pointed out (ch. 28). When after the war was over, Krishṇa returned

to Dvārakā, the Bhojas, Vrishṇis and Andhakas received him with honour (XIV. 59). In the Mausalaparva where the extermination of the relatives and followers of Krishṇa by internecine quarrel is described, we have a mention of the Bhojas who along with the Vrishṇis and Andhakas took part in that mutually destructive combat and killed one another. In the assembly where all the allied tribes were seated together, Sātyaki roused up a quarrel with the Bhoja King Kritavarman and suddenly struck his head with the sword. Then the son of Krishṇa (Yadunandana) placed himself at the head of the Bhojas and fought with Sātyaki followed by the Andhakas (verse 34, ch. 3) and both the leaders fell down dead. Then Krishṇa also took part in the combat in which the Bhojas, Andhakas and Vrishṇis flung maces at one another and destroyed themselves ("Tatohandhakāśca Bhojāśca.........Musalaiḥ Kālacoditāḥ," Mahābhārata, XVI, 34, 37-38).

In the Sabhāparva, we find Krishṇa narrating to Yudhishṭhira the oppressive domination of Jarāsandha, the Magadhan king and in this connection he says that the Bhojas descended from Yayāti had propagated and acquired a high position for themselves, but that at the time they had been robbed of it by the confederacy under the suzerainty of Jarāsandha (ch. 14, verse 6) and in a later verse in the same chapter we are told that the eighteen families of the Bhojas that lived in the *Udīchya* or northern country had out of fear of Jarāsandha left their own habitat in northern India and were forced to take refuge far in the west (Ibid, verse 25) and again, it is averred by Krishṇa that the aged Bhoja kings being oppressed by Kamsa who was in alliance with Jarāsandha, had sought refuge with him (Krishṇa) (Ibid, verses 32-33)

in order to rescue their relatives, and it appears that the connection between the Vrishṇis and the Bhoja was cemented by giving the handsome daughter of Āhuka to Akrūra. In the verse that follows Krishṇa adds that he had in company with his brother, Balarāma done good to his relatives (jñātis) by killing Kaṁsa. From the above it will be seen that the Bhojas had spread far and wide over India: eighteen of their families are said to have treked west in fear of the forces led by Jarāsandha, and in the Madhyadeśa we find the Bhojas at Mathurā. And again the same chapter from which we have quoted here shows that the Bhojas had also spread towards the south; King Bhīṣmaka, father of Rukmiṇī and father-in-law of Krishṇa is called a Bhoja Thus Krishṇa goes on, "O great King, that mighty king of the Bhojas, Bhīṣmaka who is a friend of Indra, that chastiser of foes, who governs a fourth part of the world, who has conquered by his learning the Pāṇḍyas and Krathakauśikas, and whose brother Atri is like the son of Jamadagni Rāma has (also) become a servitor to the king of Magadha (Jarāsandha). We are his relatives, and therefore we are always engaged in doing what is agreeable to him. But though we regard and respect him much, yet he does not at all regard us. He is always doing us ill. O King! without knowing his own strength and the dignity of the race to which he belongs, Bhīshmaka has placed himself under Jarāsandha's shelter, only seeing his blazing fame" (Ibid, verses 21-24).

We have quoted the above verses in full inasmuch as they tell us many important things about the position of the Bhojas in the Epic age. We here learn that the Bhojas under Bhīṣmaka ruled over a fourth part of the earth, which no doubt means here the sub-continent of India, and

again it appears that neglecting the alliance with the Vrishṇis under Krishṇa who was his own son-in-law, he had allied himself with their great enemy, the monarch of Magadha, though, as Krishṇa suggests, were he conscious of the great strength that he himself wielded and had he taken care to ally himself with his natural friends, the Vrishṇis, Andhakas and Bhojas in the Midland and the west, he would have been more than a match for the Satanic ruler, Jarāsandha. We learn also from this passage that the Bhojas had also acquired a position for themselves among the learned by defeating the Pāṇḍyas and others in learning.

About the position of this Bhoja king, Bīshmaka, we have an indication in a later chapter of Sabhāparva where we are told that Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pāṇḍava brothers, on his expedition of conquest before the Rājasūya sacrifice, proceeded towards *Bhoja-Kaṭa* which means, 'the city of the Bhojas,' and which was the capital of the Bhojas under Bhīshmaka (Sabhāparva, ch. 31, verses 10-11) after conquering Avantī, that is, Malwa in central India. We are told later in the same chapter that after subjugating the king of Surāshṭra or Kathiawar, Sahadeva sent ambassadors to Bhīshmaka, the ruler of *Bhojakaṭa*, who was a friend of Indra, and also to his son Rukmin who was probably associated with him in the government of the country and we are told that Bhīshmaka with his son respected the mandate of Sahadeva out of a consideration for Krishṇa (Ibid, verses 62-64).

On the eve of the great war we are told in the Udyogaparva (chapter 157) that Rukmin, the son of Bhīshmaka or Hiraṇyaroman, the Bhoja king, who was a friend of Indra and was a monarch ruling over *Dākshiṇātya*, or the whole of the Deccan, came to the field of battle at the head of

one complete *Akshauhinī* of forces of all description. The history of the foundation of *Bhojakaṭa*, the capital of Rukmin is thus described: when Krishṇa carried away Rukmin's sister by force from his father's capital, Kuṇḍinapura, then this valiant prince swore that he would not return home without defeating the abductor of his sister. But as fate would have it, he was worsted at the fight that took place and Rukmin, true to his oath, never went back to Kuṇḍinapura again, but built a new city of the Bhojas at the site of the battle-field where he had sustained a defeat and called it *Bhoja-kaṭa*, or the city of the Bhojas. It is also told of this heroic Bhoja prince that he was in the very front rank of the warriors of his time; the bow named Vijaya that he weilded was only equalled by the Gāṇḍīva of Arjuna and the Śāraṅgadhanu of Krishṇa otherwise it was unmatched in the world. This prince who is called Bhojarāja (verse 17) is said to have been equally skilled with the bow and the sword and various other weapons of offence and defence but he was inordinately proud. He said addressing Arjuna that if the latter was afraid of the terrible war that was going to ensue, then Rukmin might offer his assistance to the Pāṇḍava party adding that he had no match in the assembled heroes on the field of Kurukshetra. But this was more than the great Pāṇḍava hero could brook and hence Rukmin went away offended and offered his help to Duryodhana with the same words; the Kuru monarch also would not admit that he was frightened and hence the proud and audacious Rukmin went away without joining his forces to either army (Mahābhārata, V., chapter 157).

The abduction of Rukmiṇī by Krishṇa who inflicted a defeat on the Bhojas is also referred to by Dhṛitarāshṭra in

the Udyogaparva where he says that Krishṇa alone in his chariot destroyed the Bhojas in battle and won Rukminī for his wife (Ibid., V., 48, 74).

In the Sabhāparva we read that the whole confederacy of Andhakas, Yādavas and Bhojas abandoned Kaṁsa and that the latter was slain by Krishṇa having been appointed to do (*niyogāt*) so [Mahābhārata II., 62, 8]. It appears from this that Krishṇa, when he sprung a surprise upon Kaṁsa in a sudden and unexpected encounter, had at least the tacit approval of all the allied peoples who had been tyrannized over and ill-treated by the evil-minded Kamsa. Kaṁsa himself is a Bhoja as we learn from what Krishṇa says to the Kurus in their assembly on the eve of the battle. He points out that Kamsa, the son of Ugrasena, was abandoned by his relatives and killed by himself and that thereupon Ākuka Ugrasena was duly honoured by his relatives and friends and appointed the king of the Bhoja-rājya. (Mahābhārata, II., 128, 39) and he also tells them that during the lifetime of the old king of Bhoja, his evil-minded son of base conduct having usurped the throne of his father subjected himself to death (Mahābhārata, V, 128, 37).

Another tribe with whom the Bhojas are associated in the great Epic are the Kukuras, as we are told of the Bhoja King joining the Kuru forces with the Bhojas, Andhakas and Kukuras (Ibid., V. 19); in another chapter of the Udyogaparva also we find the Bhojas in company with the Andhakas, Vrishṇis, Kukuras and Sriñjayas and besides, the Cedis (Ibid, V., 28). Again when all the people in this great confederacy of allied tribes were engaged in a deadly conflict among themselves, at that time also we find the Kukuras fighting with and exterminating their allies and friends the Bhojas and Andhakas (Mauṣala-parva, Ch. V., verse 2).

The Kukuras, the Andhakas and all the tribes in the union ran at each other like maniacs run amuck, and brought about the destruction of their nearest and closest friends. Father killed son and son killed father, no one would retire or keep aloof from the encounter, they fought until they fell; like flies running into the fire, these valiant Kshatriyas rushed to the fierce combat killing their own kith and kin until every one of the great heroes lay stretched on mother earth (Mahābhārata, XVI. 3, 40-43). These Kukuras were evidently therefore members of the same great confederacy of tribes as the Bhojas, Andhakas and Vrishṇis, that is, of the *Vrishni-cakra* as it is called in the Mahābhārata itself (Mausala-parva, I., 7).

We have seen before that the kings among the Sātvatas were called Bhojas; Bhoja was the designation of the royal family of the Sātvatas in the days of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and afterwards the name Bhoja must have been extended to the whole Sātvat tribe. In the great Epic we find the names Bhoja and Sātvata used indiscriminately to designate the same individual as we find it illustrated in the case of Kritavarman, the Hārdikya or son of Hṛdika. He was one of the greatest of the Bhojas and was in the very front rank of the warriors of that warlike age. He led a complete Akshauhinī or division of forces to the great Kurukshetra war and appears to have been the leader of the allied army of the Bhoja-Andhaka-Kukura-Vrishṇi confederacy as we learn from Udyogaparva which tells us, "Kritavarman, the son of Hridika in company with the Bhojas, the Andhakas and the Kukuras went to Duryodhana with an *Akshauhinī* of troops; and his army, with those foremost among men, graced with garlands of wild flowers, looked charming as a forest run about by wild elephants" (V. 19, 17-18) and it is again added, Kritavarman sided with Duryodhana with one akshauhinī of troops (verse 25). Kritavarman appears to have been the official commander of the allied forces even before they came to the field of battle, and the story is told how though Krishṇa was in favour of the Pāṇḍava brothers, yet the immense army at his disposal was made over to Duryodhana. This latter, we are told, pressed his claims to Krishṇa and pointed out that as regards relationship, he was as closely connected with him as the Pāṇḍavas. Krishṇa gave Arjuna the option of either having him as a non-combatant partisan or the whole of the huge army of the Nārāyaṇa forces. Arjuna chose the former, and Duryodhana too was glad to have the immense and powerful army while the great and valiant Krishṇa himself was rendered harmless by his oath of not taking up arms on the field of Kurukshetra. After obtaining the sanction of Krishṇa as regards the army, he lost not a moment to repair to Kritavarman, who on learning about what had passed between the Kuru king and Krishṇa, at once apprised him of contributing an Akshauhinī to his army (Udyogaparva, ch. 7). Kritavarman appears to have belonged to the city of Mrittikāvatī as would be seen clearly from what is said in a chapter of the Droṇaparva. When the young son of Subhadrā was making terrible slaughter in the Kuru army and the Kuru heroes could not match him fighting singly according to the laws of honourable warfare, six of the leaders made an onset against him in a simultaneous rush, and Kritavarman was one of them (Mahābhārata, VII, 46, 4). The next chapter tells us that Abhimanyu aimed a number of arrows at *Bhoja Mārttikāvata*, that is, the Bhoja from Mrittikāvatī who must have been Kritavarman (VII, 47, 8). This conclusion is further confirmed by what we learn from a chapter in the Mausalaparva. It tells us that after the *Vrishni-cakra*, of which the Bhojas formed an important

element, had been broken up by the extermination of all the able-bodied fighting men in the confederacy, Arjuna proceeded to their capital and asked the servants, children and women of the whilom powerful tribes to follow him to Indraprastha. Then we are told that millions of the helpless and widowed women of the Bhojas, Vrishṇis and Andhakas came out of Dvārakā to proceed to the Pāṇḍava capital (Mahābhārata, XVI., 7, 39).

We are next told in the same chapter that many of the ladies were captured and led away by hands of Ābhīra robbers on Arjuna's way from Dwārakā to Hastināpura, in the land of the five rivers. The remnant of the Vrishṇi women he led to Kurukshetra and settled them at different places there, and he settled the son of Hārdikya (that is, of Kritavarman who also, as we have seen, died fighting in the internecine combat) and also the wives of the Bhoja rāja that escaped the plunder by the Ābhīra hosts, at the city of Mrittikāvatī (Mahābhārata, XVI., 7, 69). At the beginning of the Karṇaparva, when an account was being taken of the heroic leaders in the Kuru army that survived the fall of Droṇa, we find Kritavarman thus described. "Here is that resident of the country of Ānarta, the son of Hṛdika, the great chariot-warrior, the greatest of the Sātvatas-Kritavarmā, the Bhoja, himself is here ready to fight on your side armed with all weapons" (Mahābhārata VIII, 7, 8). Here we observe that Kritavarman is called both a Bhoja as well as a Sātvata, and his capital Mrittikāvatī appears to have been situated in the Ānarta country, inasmuch as he is called a resident of Ānarta (Ānarttavāsi). We have said that Kritavarman is sometimes called Bhoja and sometimes Sātvata. Thus we are told in the Udyogaparva that Yuyudhāna was charged by the Pāṇḍavas with the duty of fighting Kritavarman, the Bhoja (Mahābhārata, V, 57, 21).

Again he is called a Sātvata in a later chapter of the same parva when mentioned as a hero in the army of Duryodhana (ch. 143). In an enumeration of the greatest heroes (atirathas) in Duryodhana's army he is spoken of as a Bhoja (chapter 165). Similarly he is called a Bhoja in several other passages (VIII. 2 etc.). He is designated a Sātvata also in various parts of the great Epic: thus it is said that Kritavarman, the Sātvata commanded one akshauhiṇī in the army of Duryodhana (Bhīshmaparva, ch. 16); again we find Kritavarmā, the Sātvata in the rear of the forces of Duryodhana (VI, ch. 51) and in several other passages in the same book we find Kritavarman, of the Sātvatas taking a prominent part in the fight (see VI, chs. 56, 81, 86, 95). Coming to the Droṇaparva, we find Kritavarman fighting at the mouth of the Sūcī array made by the heroic teacher of the Kurus (VII. 87). In the descriptions of the fight under Droṇa's leadership he is spoken of as a Sātvata (ch. 91) and also as a Bhoja (ch. 92). Towards the end when Droṇa lay dead on the field then by the remnant of the Bhojas, the Kaliṅgas and the Bāhlīkas, Kritavarman was elected as the leader (Mahābhārata, VII. 193). In the Karṇaparva, Kritavarman is called a Bhoja (VIII. 2) and a few chapters later he is mentioned as a *Mahāratha* or a first class chariot-warrior among the Sātvatas (VIII. 9, 80, "Kritavarmā mahesvāsaḥ Sātvatānāṁ mahārathāḥ"). Kritavarman, the Bhoja, was one of the three great heroes that attended upon Duryodhana when the latter took refuge in the Dvaipāyana lake (Mahābhārata, IX., 29, 53-54). In the next chapter we hear of Kritavarmā the Sātvata addressing the defeated Kuru monarch and calling upon him to come out of his hiding place in the lake (IX., 30, 9-13), and repeatedly we meet him here (X. I; X, 4; X 6. etc.). He took part in the nightly

encounter also (X. 8) in killing the Pañcālas and the sons of Draupadī, and, after this, he with two other heroes went to meet the dying king Duryodhana carrying to him this welcome news (Mahābhārata, X. 9. 6). He at last returned to his own country (Ibid., XI. 11) and accompanied Krishna (XI. 66). We have already seen how at the mutually destructive encounter of Bhojas, Vrishnis, Andhakas and Kukuras, this great Bhoja hero was slain by Sātyaki (Ibid., XVI, 3) and how his son was placed on the throne of Mrittikāvatī by Arjuna (Ibid., XVI., 7).

In the Purānas

It is stated in the Purāṇas that the Satvats and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yadu family who dwelt at Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā (Matsya, 43, 48; 44, 46-48; Vāyu, 94, 52; 95, 48; 96, 1-2) and the Mahābhārata tells us that Krisṇa removed the Yādava headquarters from Mathurā to Dwārakā for fear of Jarāsandha, the great ruler of Magadha. The Visṇupurāṇa (IV. 13) informs us that Satvata was born in the family of Krosṭhu, son of Yadu. The descendants of Satvata, son of Mahābhoja, were known as Bhojas (cf. Bhāgavata, 9, 24; Kurmapurāṇa, ch. 24 śl. 40; Harivaṁśa, ch. 37). The Bhojas were, according to the Matsyapurāṇa, pure, learned, truthful, valiant and charitable. They were performers of religious rites (ch. 44, śl. 69). They were, as we learn from the Agnipurāṇa (ch. 275, śl. 10; Vāyu, 94), one of the five families of the Haihayas which were famous as Vitihotra Śāryāta, Bhoja, Āvantaya and Kuṇḍika. In the Matsya Purāṇa too (43, 48-49) we find the Bhojas mentioned as a branch of the Haihayas. We are further informed by the Pauranic works that the Bhojas were kindreds of the rulers of the southern realm of Vidarbha. (Mat. 44. 36; Vāyu, 95. 35-36). We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and Vidarbha. A place called Bhojakaṭa in Vidarbha is mentioned in the Harivaṁśa (Visṇuparva, 60. 32) and the Mahābhārta (V. 157. 15-16) proving clearly that the Bhojas were early residents of Vidarbha or Berar. The Chammak grant of the Vākaṭaka king Parvarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojakaṭa territory was equivalent to the Ilichpur district in Berar or Vidarbha (J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 329). On the authority evidently of this inscription Vincent Smith says that the Bhojas occupied Ilichpur (Elichpur) region in Berar or Vidarbha (Smith, Aśoka, p. 188; Cf. Smith, Early History of India, p. 184. n. 2.). Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja (cf. also Mahābhārata, V., 48, 74; 157. 17). But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. A line of Bhojas must have ruled in Daṇḍaka as is evidenced from the Arthaśāstra where we are told of a Dāṇḍakyo Bhoja, which shows clearly that it is a monarch of the Bhoja family that is referred to here (1919 Ed. p. 11). They were the allies of the Kurus in the great war and used to live in the West (Camb. Hist. p. 279).

In the Jaina literature.

The Jaina sacred books speak of them as Kṣatriyas and descendants from those whom Ṛsabha acknowledged as persons deserving of honour (Jaina Sūtras, pt. II., p. 71., n. 2). The Jaina Sūtras also tell us of a Bhoja princess who showed extraordinary religious zeal and strength of mind in overcoming all temptations. This princess, Rājimatī who was the daughter of a king of Bhojas, was overwhelmed with affliction when she heard of the ordination of the Jīna. She subdued her senses and entered the order. She was tempted by Rathanemi, her husband's elder brother, but she was successful in overcoming all temptations and

maintaining her virtues unsullied (pt. II, pp. 115-118).

In the Pāli Buddhist literature.

In the Pāli Buddhist sacred literature also we find references to Bhoja. In the Saṁyutta Nikāya (pt. I. pp. 61-62) we find the mention of a ṛsi named Rohitassa Bhojaputta, that is, one belonging to the Bhoja family or tribe. In conversing with the Buddha at Sāvatthī, Rohita said, " In a previous birth I was a ṛsi named Rohitassa Bhojaputta. I could walk over the aerial passage and my speed was as swift as that of an arrow shot by a skilful archer. The distance of my steps is equivalent to that between Eastern and Western seas. Despite the distance of my steps and the speed of my flight I could not find the end of that world which knows no birth, old age, death or rebirth." In one of the Jātaka stories we read that once the Bodhisatta was born a nāga king named Samkhapāla. He always used to give charities and observe precepts. On a sabbath day while observing the precepts he resolved to give away his own body in charity. Sixteen Bhojaputtas not being able to find out an iguana saw this charitably disposed Saṅkhapāla and after beating it made it weak and were carrying it while they were seen by a merchant of Mithilā. The latter caused the release of Saṅkhpāla by paying them a cart-load of Kahāpāṇas, clothes ornaments, etc. (Vol. V. 164 foll).

Later account of the Bhojas.

I-ching tells us of a Bhoja king who favoured Buddhism (Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, vol. III., p. 162). The Khālimpur grant of the Emperor Dharmapāladeva of Gauḍa speaks of the king of Bhoja along with kings of Matsya, Kuru, Yadu and Yavanas as having uttered benedictions at the coronation ceremony of the king of Kānyakubja (Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 14).

Mr. R. D. Banerjee holds that the king of Bhoja was defeated by Dharmapāla and was compelled to accept Cakrāyudha instead of Indrarāja as the lord of Kānyakubja. In the opinion of this scholar the country of Bhoja is the name of a part of present Rajputana (Vaṅgālār Itihāsa pp. 167-168).

The Arulala-Perumal inscription and the Rangnātha inscription of Ravivarman mention a Bhoja king who belonged to the Yadu family of the Kerala country in South India (Epigraphica Indica, vol. IV., pt. IV., June, 1896 p. 146). This king Ravivarman is declared in the inscription to have been wise, liberal and protector of the good. He was not frightened by his opponents. He was the foremost of the thoughtful. He never looked at others' wives (Ibid., p. 151).

Errata

Page	1	Read 'Baraṇā and Asi' for 'Baraṇāvatī'
„	5	Omit 'the son of Bimbisāra'!
„	5	Read 'Vītahavyas' for 'Vītahavya'
„	6	„ 'their' „ 'his'
„	6	„ 'his' „ 'the'
„	6	„ 'a sacrificial pot of gold' for 'sacrificial pot of gold'.
„	7	„ 'pupil' for 'pupils'
„	10	„ 'puṇḍra' „ 'puṇḍva'
„	12	„ "law of a householder" for law of householder
„	17	„ "king of Kosala" for kings of Kosala"
„	19	Omit "In the Mahāsīlava Jātaka and Asātarūpa Jātaka (Jātaka, 1, 262 foll & 409 foll.)."
„	28	Read "Kaṭṭhavāhanagara" for "Kaṭṭhanagara"
„	29	„ "Maitrakanyo" for "Maitraknyaka"
„	42	„ "the legend" for "which however"
„	51	„ "Śrutayu" for "śrutaya"
„	58	„ 'in this life' for 'in the life'
„	86	„ 'were' for 'formed'
„	94	„ 'used' for 'were apt'
„	94	„ 'was' for 'were'
„	95	Omit 'and'
„	95	Read 'monarch' for monarchs'
„	95	„ 'Jarāsandha' for 'Dhṛsṭaketu, son of Jarāsandha'
„	97	„ '137' for '837'
„	104	„ 'Mānasara' for 'Mānusāra'
„	105	„ 'Sister of Darśaka' for 'Daughter of Pradyota'
„	105	„ 'sister's hand' for 'daughter's hand'
„	104	„ 'pp. 4-7' for 'pp. 4-5'
„	103	„ 'stupidity' for 'foolishness'
„	127	Omit '*and there was drizzling*'
„	128	(bottom) Read '*Kassapagotta bhikkhu became angry with the Buddha but he afterwards begged pardon from him (Ibid., 1, p. 236 foll.).*'

INDEX

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